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Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana;

OR A

SELECT COLLECTION

OF

CURIOUS TRACTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY, LITERATURE, MANNERS,
AND BIOGRAPHY,

OF

THE ENGLISH NATION.

VOL. I.

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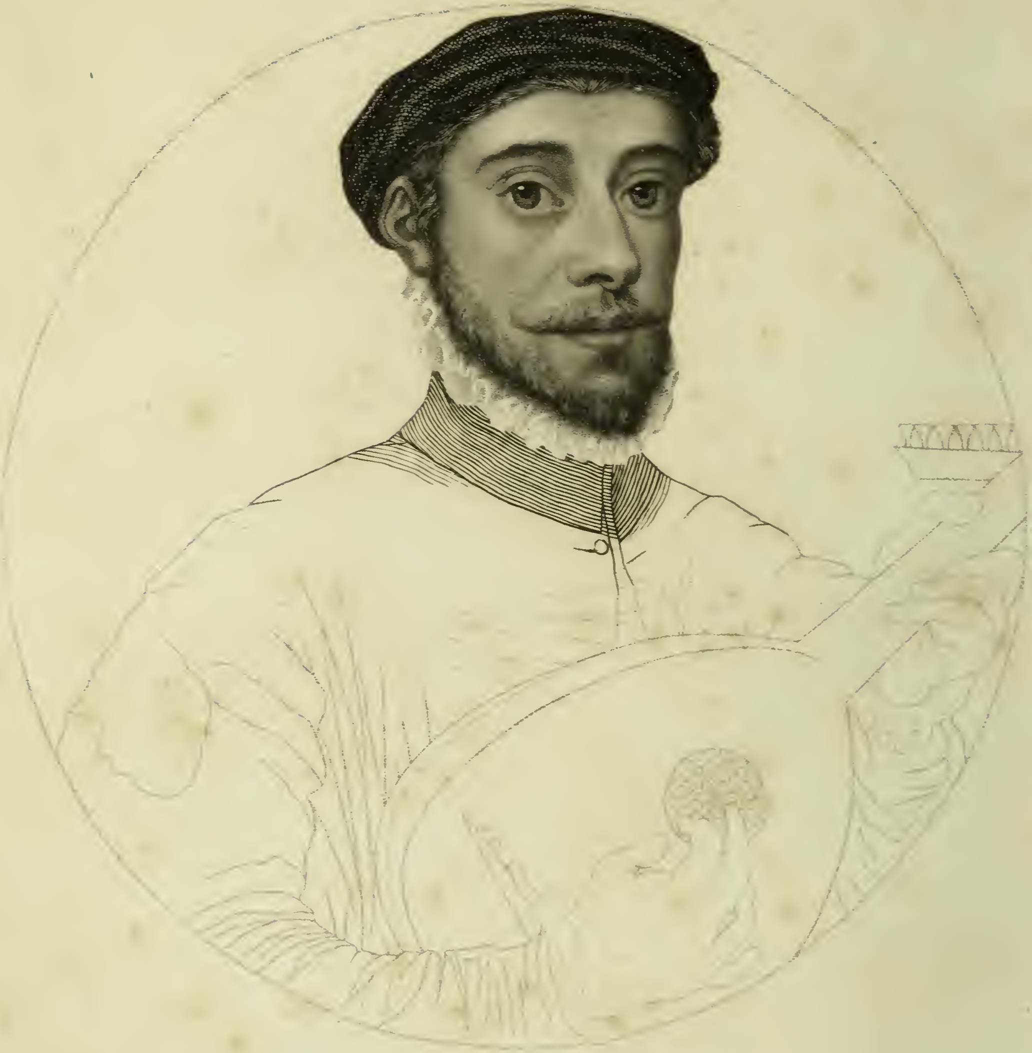

David Rizio

From an Original Picture Painted in 1564
in the possession of H. C. Jennings Esqr
Engraved with permission by C. Wilkin

Pub.d [illegible] for Richard Phillips [illegible]

SOME

PARTICULARS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

DAVID RICCIO,

CHIEF FAVOURITE OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE RELATION OF HIS DEATH,

WRITTEN BY THE

LORD RUTHEN,

ONE OF THE PRINCIPALS CONCERNED IN THAT ACTION.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR ROBERT TRIPHOOK,
37, ST. JAMES'S STREET.
1815.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following particulars respecting David Riccio have been collected from Buchanan, Sir James Melville, and other cotemporary writers, as a proper appendage to the curious and interesting portrait of this minion of fortune, which is now for the first time engraved. The original picture, of the same size, is in the collection of Constantine Jennings, Esq. by whose liberal and kind indulgence it was permitted to be engraved expressly for this work. The artist, Mr. Wilkin, has succeeded in giving a very accurate copy, and seized the character of the head in a most skilful manner. It appears to have been the work of a Venetian artist of no mean degree of skill; and in its style and colouring partakes of the manner of Zucchero in his smaller portraits. That it is a faithful and genuine representation of this favourite of the unfortunate Mary, there is no reason to doubt, although it is now impossible to trace the collection from whence it was obtained: it was purchased by Mr. Jennings from a picture-dealer many years since, and had been picked up in an obscure part of the northern metropolis. It is painted on a small circular panel; and on the back are rudely cut into the wood the name *Davit Rixio,* and the date 1564. The mode in which the name is spelt is accordant with the Venetian method of orthography, in which the *x* is frequently substituted for the *z* or *c*. Whether Mary added to her other frailties that of a criminal intercourse with this man may be doubted; but by her partiality, and the incaution of her conduct, she gave rise to surmises and reports, which made this object of her favours odious, and furnished a pretext for his assassination. The curious and uncommon relation of Lord Ruthen, the publisher received unsolicited from the kindness of a gentleman to him an entire stranger; and as it forms no part of any of the collections respecting Mary, it was deemed worthy of a place in this miscellany. It is much to be regretted that the orthography of the time in which it was undoubtedly written, has not been preserved by the transcriber.

MEMOIR

OF

DAVID RICCIO.

DAVID RICCIO, (a name celebrated in the annals of the early part of the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, and who may be justly said to have been the primary cause of all her subsequent misfortunes) was born at Turin: his father supported his family by teaching the elements of music, and having no patrimony to leave them, he made them musicians. David at an early period of his life went to Nice, where the Duke of Savoy, who had lately been restored to his dominions, kept his court. This not answering his expectations, he was reduced to great distress, and in this dilemma, became known to the Count de Moretti, who was then (as the Duke's envoy) preparing for his journey into Scotland, and he accompanied him thither. Shortly after his arrival, the Count having but a small allowance to support his character of envoy, looked upon his services as unnecessary, and dismissed him. He resolved however to make some stay, and try his fortune again, to which he was encouraged by hearing, that the Queen took great delight in music, and was not altogether unskilful herself. To make his way to her presence, he made interest with the musicians (who were for the most part French) that he might appear amongst them. The Queen had three of them who sung three parts, and wanted a bass to sing the fourth, and being told of Riccio as a proper person, he was admitted to sing before her, and was so much approved of, as to be immediately added to their number. Having thus established himself, he so complied with the Queen's humour, that partly by flattery, and partly by undermining others, he grew high in her favour; and on her French Secretary retiring to his native country, he was appointed to the office, and by that means had a fair pretext for private converse with the Queen.

As he thereby entered into greater credit, he had not the prudence to conduct himself rightly in his new office, for frequently, in presence of the Nobles, he would publicly speak to her even during the greatest conventions of the states. This sudden advancement from a low estate to so much power and dignity, combined with his arrogance, contempt of his equals, and contention with his superiors, afforded sufficient matter of discourse for the people. This was much increased by the flattery of some of the nobility, who sought his friendship, courted him, admired his judgment, waiting upon him at his apartment, and presenting themselves in his way on every occasion. But the Earl of Murray, with some others, expressed their dislike of him in so open a manner, as to offend the Queen no less than Riccio. In order to have a support against the hatred of the chief of the Nobility, Riccio courted with great assiduity Henry Lord Darnley, and got into so familiar an acquaintance with him, as to be admitted to his chamber, and to be trusted in his most private affairs. Riccio persuaded him that it was by his means chiefly that the Queen had been induced to think of him for her husband. He was also instrumental in promoting dissention betwixt Darnley and the Earl of Murray, flattering himself that if once rid of the Earl, he might take his full career without opposition. About this time the Queen's intended marriage with Darnley, and his private meetings with her, as also her too great familiarity with Riccio, were talked of and censured by all ranks. The Earl of Murray finding that the advice he gave served only to irritate the Queen against him, resolved to leave the court that he might not be thought to be the author of what was acted there. Sir James Melville in his Memoirs, mentions the following conversation which took place between him and Riccio, about this time, in which he lamented the state in which he was placed, and asked Sir James's advice. " I told him that strangers were commonly " envied when they meddled too much in the affairs of other " countries. He said ' he being Secretary to her Majesty in the " French tongue, had occasion thereby to be frequently in her " Majesty's company, as her former Secretary used to do.' I " answered again, that it was thought that the greatest part of the " affairs of the country passed through his hands, which gave " offence to the nobility. I advised him in their presence to " retire from the Queen, giving them place: and that he might " desire the Queen to permit him to take that way. I told him " for an example, how I had been in so great favour with the " Elector Palatine, that he caused me to sit at his own table, and " that he used frequently to confer with me in presence of his " whole court, whereat divers of them took great indignation " against me, which so soon as I perceived, I requested him to " permit me to sit from his own table with the rest of his gen- " tlemen, and no more to confer with me in their presence, but to " call me by a page to his chamber, when he had any service to " command me: seeing otherwise, he would prejudge himself and " me, both by giving ground of discontent to his subjects, in too " much noticing a stranger, and so expose me to their fury. " Which I obtained, and that way my Master was not hated, nor " I any more envied. I advised him to take the like course, if he " was resolved to act as a wise man. Which council he said he " was resolved to follow; but afterwards told me that the Queen " would not suffer him, but would needs have him carry himself " as formerly. I answered, that I was sorry for the incon- " veniencies that might follow thereupon."

Riccio is accused by Buchanan, of being concerned in the conspiracy to assassinate the Earl of Murray, and which was prevented by the information he received from his friends. Notwithstanding the Earl had resolved to go, and was only prevented by receiving a second admonition from Lord Ruthen, which induced him to alter his intention, and turn aside on a visit to his mother near Loch Leven.

In the mean time Riccio left nothing unattempted to precipitate the marriage of the Queen with Lord Darnley, which took place at the end of July, without the consent, and greatly to the dissatisfaction of many of the Scotish Nobility, and particularly to the English court.

The offence given by this conduct induced many to leave the court, and Riccio finding the chiefs of the Nobility had withdrawn, that he might confirm his intemperate hopes of power, excited the Queen to use the coercive power of the sword against the heads of the several parties, assuring her that if a few were removed, the rest would not venture to attempt any thing. But considering that the Queen's guards being Scotchmen, would not easily consent to the murder of the Nobility, he made it his business to remove them from that post, and introduce foreigners in their room. The first proposition was to have Germans for that service, that nation being of remarkable loyalty to their princes; but when Riccio had attentively considered, he concluded, that for better carrying on his designs, Italians should be admitted to that employment, being persuaded that men of the same nation with himself would not only be more at his devotion, but the most proper instruments for his purpose, who making no distinction between what is just and unjust, might easily be induced to perpetrate any kind of villainy.

As his power and authority with the Queen continued on the increase, so the King became daily more contemptible, and to treat him with yet greater indignity, Riccio was substituted to sign divers public acts, and to impress the King's seal on them. The Queen not contenting herself with having thus raised him from the meanest obscurity, devised another way of honouring him in a domestic and more familiar manner. She had for some months admitted more persons than had been usual at her table, that he might have a place there with less envy, on account of the number of those who received that honour. At last it came to this, that Riccio with only one or two more sat at table with her, and in some measure to diminish the appearance, they sometimes eat in a little closet, and sometimes in his chamber. But instead of lessening the public odium by these means, it did but increase the reflections, confirmed former suspicions, afforded matter for further discourse, and inclined men to believe the worst. Riccio was also said to surpass the King in rich furniture, apparel, number and goodness of his horses, which indignity seemed the greater, because his face and manner contributed more to destroy the effect of every ornament about him, than any of these advantages served to grace his person. The Queen since she could not correct these faults of nature, endeavoured by heaping honours upon him to cover the meanness of his birth with the lustre of dignity and promotion, by raising him to the rank of Nobility, and by that means giving him a right of voting in the public assemblies, that he might be enabled to manage the councils as she might direct. And because it was thought necessary to advance gradually in putting this scheme into execution, the first attempt was made upon a Lordship, situated near Edinburgh, called *Melvill.* The possessor, Lord Ross, with his father-in-law, and such friends as were supposed to have most influence with him, were sent for to the Queen, who endeavoured to prevail on him to part with his right, and to induce his friends to persuade him to it. But this not succeeding to her wish, the Queen interpreted the refusal as a personal affront, and what was more to be dreaded, Riccio was himself highly offended. These proceedings could not be concealed from the people, who were led to believe that greater evils would follow, if men of the most ancient and honourable families were to be expelled from their possessions at the will of the Queen, to gratify a foreign adventurer.

To these things men in private discourses added many more respecting the Queen's private interviews with Riccio. But the King resolved to credit nothing without ocular demonstration; and being informed one evening that Riccio was gone into the Queen's chamber, he went to the private door, the key of which he carried about him, and contrary to custom found it fastened on the inside; he knocked, and no one answering, he departed, and agitated by the most violent passions, passed the greater part of the night without sleep.

From this time the King's hatred increased daily, and this combined with the arrogance of Riccio, precipitated the plot which led to his assassination; the particulars of which, and the proceedings previous to it, are detailed in the following pages by Lord Ruthven (or Ruthen as himself writes it) and who as one of the principal actors, must have been fully qualified to give a correct account.—The relation of it by Sir James Melville in his Memoirs, differs from it only in some few trifling circumstances.

A RELATION OF THE *DEATH* OF DAVID RICCIO.

THE author of this relation, *Lord Ruthen,* at the age of forty-six, was visited by the hand of God with great trouble and sickness, whereby he kept his bed continually by the space of three months, and was under the cure of physicians, as of the Queen's French doctor, Dr. *Preston,* and *Thomas Thompson,* apothecary; and was so feebled and weakened through the sickness and medicines, that scarcely he might walk twice the length of his chamber unsitting down. During this time the King conceived hatred against an Italian called *David Riccio;* and about the 10th day of February sent his dear friend and kinsman *George Douglas,* son to *Archibald,* sometime Earl of *Angus,* and declared to Lord *Ruthen,* how that the said *David Riccio* had abused him in many sorts, and lately had stayed the Queen's Majesty from giving him the crown matrimonial of Scotland, which her Majesty had promised to him divers times before: besides many other wrongs that *David* had done to him, which he could not bear with longer, and behoved to be revenged thereof. And because the Lord *Ruthen* was one of the nobility that he confided and trusted most unto, in respect that his children and he were sisters' children; therefore he desired his counsel and advice what way was best to be revenged on *David.* The Lord *Ruthen* hearing the message aforesaid, gave answer to *George Douglas,* that he could give no counsel in that matter, in respect he knew the King's youth and facility; for he had sundry of the nobility that had given him counsel for his own honour and weal, and immediately he revealed the same again to the Queen's Majesty, who reproved them with great anger and contumelious words; so that he would have no meddling with the King's proceedings until the time he could keep his own counsel. The said *George* departed with the answer about the 12th of February. The King, hearing the answer, was very miscontented, and said, it is a sore case that I can get none of the nobility that will assist me against yonder false villain *Davie.* *George Douglas* answered, the fault was in yourself, that cannot keep your own counsel. Then the King took a book and swore thereon, that what counsel soever the Lord *Ruthen* should give him, he would not reveal, neither to the Queen's Majesty, nor to any others; and immediately directed *George* to him again, declaring what oath the King had made. Notwithstanding the Lord *Ruthen* was eight days after ere he would give any counsel therein; howbeit the King sent *George Douglas* to him every day three or four times. After eight days were past, which was toward the 20th day of February, the Lord *Ruthen* perceiving that the King's whole intent was but only the slaughter of *Davie,* resolved in his mind, and considered that he had a good time to labour for certain of the nobility, his brethren, that were banished in the realm of England and in Argyle; and specially the Earls of *Argile, Murray, Glencarn,* and *Rothes;* the Lords *Boyd* and *Ocheltrie,* and the Lairds of *Pittarro* and *Grange,* with many other gentlemen and barons. Wherefore so soon as the said *George* was directed again from the King to him, he answered, that he could not meddle with the King's affairs, without that he would bring home the noblemen before rehearsed who were banished only for the word of God. And after long reasoning, and divers days travelling, the King was contented they should come home into the realm of Scotland; so that the Lord *Ruthen* would make him sure that they would be his, and set forward all his affairs. He gave answer to the King, and bad him make his own security, and that he should cause it to be subscribed by the aforesaid earls, lords, and barons. Immediately thereafter the King directed *George Douglas* to Lord *Ruthen* with certain articles, which he desired him to put in form of writing, to be subscribed by the lords banished; the which he caused to be put in form. And having consideration that the King desired them to be bound to him, he caused to be drawn certain articles in the said lords names for the King's part towards them; which the King himself reformed with his own hand.

The articles being penned for both parties, and the King reading and considering the same, he was contented therewith, and subscribed his part, and delivered it to the Lord *Ruthen*, who sent the other articles to the Earl of *Murray*, and the remanent being within England; and to the Earl of *Argile*, and the remanent being with him in the west, who subscribed the same, and sent them to Lord *Ruthen* to be kept till their meeting with the King, and every one to have their own part; the tenour whereof followeth.

Certain Articles to be fulfilled by James, Earl of Murray, Archibald, Earl of Argile, Alexander Earl of Glencarne, Andrew, Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ocheltrie, and their Complices, to the noble and mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, husband to our sovereign Lady: which Articles the said Persons offer with most humility, lowliness, and service to the said noble Prince, for whom to God they pray, &c.

Imprimis, THE said earls, lords, and their complices, shall become, and by the tenour hereof become true subjects, men and servants, to the noble and mighty Prince *Henry*, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, and husband to our sovereign lady: that they and all others that will do for them, shall take a loyal and true part with the said noble Prince in all his actions, causes, and quarrels, against whomsoever, to the uttermost of their powers; and shall be friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies, and neither spare their lives, lands, goods, nor possessions.

2. *Item,* The said earls, lords, and their complices, shall, at the first parliament, and other parliaments that shall happen to be after their returning within this realm, by themselves and others that have voice in parliament, consent, and by these presents do consent now as then, and then as now, to grant and give the crown matrimonial to the said noble Prince for all the days of his life. And if any person or persons withstand or gainsay the same, the said earls, lords, and their complices, shall take such part as the said noble Prince taketh, in whatsoever sort, for the obtaining of the said crown, against all, and whatsoever that let or deny, as shall best please the said noble Prince.

3. *Item,* The said earls, lords, and their complices, shall fortify and maintain the said noble Prince in his just title to the crown of Scotland, failing of succession of our sovereign Lady, and shall justify and set forward the same at their utmost powers. And if any manner of person will usurp or gainsay the just title, then the said earls, lords, and their complices, shall maintain,

defend, and set forwards the same, as best shall please the said noble Prince, without fear of life or death; and shall seek and pursue them the usurpers, as shall please the said noble Prince to command, to extirp them out of the realm of Scotland, or take or slay them.

4. *Item,* As to the religion which was established by the Queen's Majesty our Sovereign, shortly after her arrival in this realm, whereupon acts and proclamation was made, and now again granted by the said noble Prince to the said earls, lords, and their complices; they, and every of them, shall maintain and fortify the same at their uttermost powers, by the help, supply, and maintenance of the said noble Prince. And if any person or persons will gainsay the same, or any part thereof, or begin to make tumult or uproar for the same, the said earls, lords, and their complices, to take a full, true, and plain part with the said noble Prince, against the said contemners and usurpers, at their uttermost.

5. *Item,* As they are become true subjects, men and servants, to the said noble Prince, so shall they be loyal and true to his Majesty, as becometh true subjects to their natural Prince; and as true and faithful servants serve their good master with their bodies, lands, goods, and possessions; and shall neither spare life nor death in setting forward all things that may be to the advancement and honour of the said noble Prince.

6. *Item,* The said earls, lords, and their complices, shall labour at the Queen of *England's* hands for the relief of the said noble Prince, his mother, and brother, by themselves and such others as they may procure, to the uttermost of their power, that they may be relieved out of ward, or remain in England freely, or repair into Scotland, as they shall think most expedient, without stop or impediment to herself, her Son, their servants and moveables.

7. *Item,* The said earls, lords, and their complices, shall, by themselves and others that will do for them, labour and procure, at the Queen of *England's* hands, that the said noble Prince may have her kindness, good-will, and assistance in all his Majesty's honourable and just causes, against whatsoever foreign prince.

Certain Articles to be fulfilled by the noble and mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, husband to our sovereign Lady, of his Majesty's mere clemency and good-will, to James, Earl of Murray, Archibald, Earl of Argile, Alexander, Earl of Glencarne, Andrew, Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Stuart, of Ocheltrie, remaining in England, &c.

Item, FIRST, The said noble Prince shall do his good-will to obtain them one remission, if they require the same, for all faults and crimes by-past, of whatsoever quality or condition they be. And if that cannot be obtained at the first time, shall persevere in suing of the same until it be obtained; and at the last shall give them a free remission of all crimes so soon as we are placed, by their help and supply, to the crown matrimonial: And in the mean time shall stop and make impediments, so much as lieth in us, that they be not called nor accused for whatsoever crime: And presently remits and forgives the aforesaid earls, lords, and their complices, all crimes committed against us, of whatsoever quality or condition they be; and do bury and put the same in oblivion, as they had never been: And shall receive them at their returning, thankfully, and with heartiness, as others our true and faithful subjects and servants.

2. *Item,* We shall not suffer, by our good wills, the foresaid lords and their complices, to be called or accused in parliament, nor suffer any forfeitures to be laid against them, but shall stop the same at our uttermost power: And if any person or persons pretend otherwise, we shall neither consent to the holding the parliament, nor yet shall grant to their forfeiture willingly, but shall stop the same to our uttermost power, as said is.

3. *Item,* That the said earls, lords, and their complices, returning within the realm of Scotland, we shall suffer or permit them to use and enjoy all their lands, tackes, steedings, and benefices, that they or any of them had before their passage into England. And if any manner of persons do make them impe-

diments in the peaceable enjoying of the said lands, steedings, tackes, benefices, and possessions, it being made known to us, we shall fortify and maintain them to the uttermost of our powers, to the obtaining of the same.

4. *Item,* As to the said earls, lords, and their complices religion, we are contented and consent that they use the same, conform to the Queen's Majesty's act and proclamation made thereupon, shortly after her Highness's return out of France. And if any person or persons pretend to make them impediment thereunto, or to trouble them for using the same religion, we shall take part with the aforesaid earls, lords, and their complices, at our uttermost power. And after their returning, upon their good bearing and service to be done to the said noble Prince, shall, by their advice, consent to the stablishing the religion now professed, and shall concur with them, if any persons do withstand them.

Item, We shall fortify and maintain the said earls, lords, and their complices, as a natural Prince should do to his true and obedient subjects; and as one good master should fortify and maintain his true and natural servants against whatsoever, in all their just causes, actions, and quarrels.

All this while the King kept secret from the Queen's Majesty the whole proceedings; and as her Majesty sought by subtil means to learn of him what was in his mind, so crafted he with her to seek out her mind: And in the same time he daily sent to the Lord *Ruthen,* saying that he could not abide *Davie* any longer; and if his slaughter was not hastened, he would slay him himself, yea, though it were in the Queen's Majesty's own chamber. The Lord *Ruthen* counselled him to the contrary, and thought it not decent that he should put hand on such a mean person: yet always the King could not be content, without the Lord *Ruthen* affixed a day when *Davie* should be slain. The said Lord considering with himself that it was not convenient nor honourable to slay *Davie,* notwithstanding the offences he had made; but rather to take him, and give him judgment by the nobility, the King's Majesty answered, it was cumbersome to tarry in such a cause; but always he could be contented that he were taken and hanged, or dispatched otherwise. In the mean time the King and Queen's Majesties rode to Seaton; the King so burning in his desire towards the slaughter of *David,* that he sent divers privy writings written in his own hand, and also messages by tongue to *George Douglas,* to be shewed to the Lord *Ruthen,* to have all things in readiness against his repairing to Edinburgh towards the slaughter of *David,* or otherwise he would put the same in execution with his own hands. In the mean time Lord *Ruthen* was practising with the Earl of *Morton,* who was the King's near kinsman, and with the Lord *Lindsey,* because his wife was a *Douglas,* and of consanguinity to the King; and with a great number of barons, gentlemen, and freeholders, to assist the King in such affairs as he had to do; and then they should have their religion freely established conformable to Christ's book, and to the articles the King had subscribed to the lords. And after the King's return out of Seaton, he directed *George Douglas* to the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Ruthen,* to see what day should be appointed, with place and time, for the performance of the enterprise against *David.* The said earl and lord sent answer to the King, and declared they should have a sufficient number ready against Friday or Saturday the 8th or 9th of March, to do what he pleased; and enquired of the King what time he would have it the ratherest performed; for, according to their opinion, they thought it best to take time when *David* should be in his own chamber in the morning, or in passing through the close: which the King refused simpliciter, and said he could not be well taken in his own chamber, nor no time in the morning, by reason that at night he tarried late with the Queen's Majesty: he lay in the over cabinet, and otherwhiles in Signior *Francisco's* chamber, and sometimes in his own, to which he had sundry back-doors and windows that he might escape at; and if so it were, all were lost. Therefore he would have him taken at the time of the supping, sitting with her Majesty at the table, that he might be taken in her own presence; because she had not entertained him her husband according to her accustomed manner, nor as she ought of duty. To the which the said earl and lords were very loth to grant, and gave many reasons to the contrary, that it was better to have been done out of her presence, not in the same. Notwithstanding no reason might avail, but the King would have him taken in her Majesty's presence, and devised the manner himself, as after followeth: That upon the Saturday at supper-time, the Earl of *Morton*, Lord *Ruthen*, and Lord *Lindsey*, should have ready so many as would be assistants and partakers with the King, in their houses, against he should send them word: and so soon as he sent them word, that the Earl of *Morton* should come in, and come up to the Queen's utter chamber, and a company with him; and the Lord *Ruthen* was to come through the King's secret chamber; and that the King would pass up before by a privy passage to the Queen's chamber, and open the door, through which the Lord *Ruthen* and his company might enter; and that the King himself should be speaking with the Queen's Majesty sitting at supper; the remanent barons and gentlemen to be in the court of the palace for keeping of the gates, and defending of the close, in case any of the Lords or officers would endeavour to gain-stand the King's enterprize. The Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Ruthen* having consideration of the King's devise towards the taking of *Davie* in the Queen's Majesty's chamber, were loth to grant thereto; yet the King would not otherwise, but have it done as he had devised. The earl and lords considering he was a young Prince, and having a lusty Princess to lie in his arms afterwards, who might perswade him to deny all that was done for his cause, and to alledge that others persuaded him to the same, thought it necessary to have security thereupon: and a band was made in the King's name to the earls, lords, barons, freeholders, merchants, and craftsmen, declaring all that was to be done was his own devise, invention, and fact; and bound and obliged himself, his heirs and successors, to them, their heirs and successors, to keep them skathless, and unmolested or troubled for the taking and executing of *Davie* in the Queen's presence or otherwise, like as the band specified hereafter word by word.

"Be it kend to all men by these present letters: We, *Henry*, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, and husband to the Queen's Majesty; for so much we having consideration of the gentle and good nature, with many other good qualities in her Majesty, we have thought pity, and also think it great conscience to us that are her husband, to suffer her to be abused or seduced by certain privy persons, wicked and ungodly, not regarding her Majesty's honour, ours, nor the nobility thereof, nor the common-weal of the same, but seeking their own commodity and privy gains, especially a stranger Italian called *Davie:* which may be the occasion of her Majesty's destruction, ours, the nobility, and commonweal, without hasty remedy be put thereto, which we are willing to do: and to that effect we have devised to take these privy persons, enemies to her Majesty, us, the nobility, and commonwealth, to punish them according to their demerits; and in case of any difficulty, to cut them off immediately, and to take and slay them wherever it happeneth. And because we cannot accomplish the same without the assistance of others, therefore have we drawn certain of our nobility, earls, lords, barons, freeholders, gentlemen, merchants, and craftsmen, to assist us in our enterprise, which cannot be finished without great hazard. And because it may chance that there be sundry great personages present, who may endeavour to gain-stand our enterprise, where-through some of them may be slain, and likewise of ours, where-through a perpetual feud may be contracted betwixt the one and the other; therefore we bind and oblige us, our heirs, and successors, to the said earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, freeholders, merchants, and craftsmen, their heirs and successors, that we shall accept the same feud upon us, and fortify and maintain them at the uttermost of our power, and shall be friend to their friends, and enemy to their enemies; and shall neither suffer them nor theirs to be molested nor troubled in their bodies, lands, goods, nor possessions, so far as lieth in us. And if any person would take any of the said earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, freeholders, merchants, or craftsmen, for enterprizing and assisting with us for the atchieving of our purpose, because it may chance to be done in presence of the Queen's Majesty, or within her palace of Holyrood-house, we, by the word of a prince, shall accept and take the same on us now as then, and then as now; and shall warrant and keep harmless the foresaid earls, lords, barons, freeholders, gentlemen, merchants, and craftsmen, at our utter power. In witness whereof we have subscribed this with our own hand at Edinburgh, the 1st of March 1565.

Upon Saturday the 9th day of March, as is conform to the King's ordynance and device, the Earl *Morton*, Lords *Ruthen* and *Lindsey*, having their men and friends in readiness, abiding for the King's advertisement; the King having supped, and the sooner for that cause, and the Queen's Majesty being in her cabinet within her inner chamber at the supper, the King sent to the said earl and lords, and their complices; and desired them to make haste and come into the palace, for he should have the door of the privy passage open, and should be speaking with the Queen before their coming, conform to his device rehearsed before. Then the Earl of *Morton*, Lord *Ruthen* and Lord *Lindsey*, with their complices, passed up to the Queen's utter chamber; and the Lord *Ruthen* passed in through the King's chamber, and up through the privy way to the Queen's chamber, as the King had learned him, and through the chamber to the cabinet, where he found the Queen's Majesty sitting at her supper, at the middest of a little table, the Lady *Argile* sitting at one end, and *Davie* at the head of the table with his cap on his head, the King speaking with the Queen's Majesty, and his hand about her waste. The Lord *Ruthen* at his coming in said to the Queen's Majesty, It would please your Majesty to let yonder man *Davie* come forth of your presence, for he hath been over-long here. Her Majesty answered, What offence hath he made? The said lord replied again, that he had made great offence to her Majesty's honour, the King her husband, the nobility and commonweal of the realm. And how? saith she. It will please your Majesty, said he, he hath offended your Majesty's honour, which I dare not be so bold to speak of: As to the King your husband's honour, he hath hindred him of the crown matrimonial, which your grace promised him, besides many other things which are not necessary to be expressed. And as to the nobility, he hath caused your Majesty to banish a great part, and most chief thereof, and forefault them at this present parliament, that he might be made a lord. And as to your commonweal, he hath been a common destroyer thereof, in so far as he suffered not your Majesty to grant or give any thing but that which passed through his hands, by taking of bribes and goods for the same; and caused your Majesty to put out the Lord *Ross* from his whole lands, because he would not give over the lordship of Melvin to the said *Davie;* besides many other inconveniences that he sollicited your Majesty to do. Then the Lord *Ruthen* said to the King, Sir, take the Queen's Majesty your sovereign and wife to you, who stood all amazed, and wyst not what to do. Then her Majesty rose on her feet and stood before *Davie,* he holding her Majesty by the plates of the gown, leaning back over in the window, his whiniard drawn in his hand. *Arthur Erskine,* and the Abbot of Holyrood-house, the Laird of Creech, master of the household, with the French apothecary, and one of the Grooms of the Chamber, began to lay hands upon the Lord *Ruthen,* none of the King's party being present. Then the said Lord pulled out his whiniard, and freed himself while more came in, and said to them, Lay not hands on me, for I will not be handled; and at the incoming of others into the cabinet, the Lord *Ruthen* put up his whiniard. And with the rushing in of men the board fell to the wallwards, with meat and candles being thereon; and the Lady of *Argile* took up one of the candles in her hand: and in the same instant Lord *Ruthen* took the Queen in his arms, and put her into the King's arms, beseeching her Majesty not to be afraid; for there was no man there that would do her Majesty's body more harm than their own hearts; and assured her Majesty, all that was done was the King's own deed and action. Then the remanent gentlemen being in the cabinet, took *Davie* out of the window; and after that they had him out in the Queen's chamber, the Lord *Ruthen* followed, and bad take him down the privy way to the King's chamber; and the said lord returned to the cabinet again, believing that *Davie* had been had down to the King's chamber; but the press of the people hurled him forth to the utter chamber, where there was a great number standing, who were so vehemently moved against the said *Davie,* that they could not abide any longer, but slew him at the Queen's far door in the utter chamber. Immediately the Earl of *Morton* passed forth of the Queen's Majesty's utter chamber to the inner court for keeping of the same and the gates, and deputed certain barons to keep *Davie's* chamber till he knew the Queen's Majesty's pleasure and the King's. Shortly after their Majesties sent the Lord

Lindsey, and *Arthur Erskine,* to the said Earl of *Morton,* to pass to *David's* chamber to fetch a black coffer with writings and cyphers, which the said Earl of *Morton* delivered to them, and gave the chamber in keeping to *John Semple,* son to the Lord *Semple,* with the whole goods there; gold, silver, and apparel being therein. In this mean time the Queen's Majesty and the King came forth of the cabinet to the Queen's chamber, where her Majesty began to reason with the King, saying, My Lord, why have you caused to do this wicked deed to me, considering I took you from a base estate, and made you my husband? What offence have I made you that ye should have done me such shame? The King answered, and said, I have good reason for me; for since yon fellow *Davie* fell in credit and familiarity with your Majesty, ye regarded me not, neither treated me nor entertained me after your wonted fashion; for every day before dinner, and after dinner, ye would come to my chamber and pass time with me, and this long time ye have not done so; and when I come to your Majesty's chamber, ye bear me little company, except *Davie* had been the third marrow: and after supper your Majesty hath a use to set at the cards with the said *Davie* till one or two of the clocke after midnight; and this is the entertainment that I have had of you this long time. Her Majesty's answer was, It was not gentlewomens duty to come to their husbands chamber, but rather the husband to come to the wive's chamber, if he had any thing to do with her. The King answered, How came ye to my chamber at the beginning, and ever, till within these few months that *Davie* fell in familiarity with you? or am I failed in any sort? or what disdain have you at me? or what offence have I made you, that you should not use me at all time alike? seeing that I am willing to do all things that becometh a good husband to do to his wife. For since you have chose me to be your husband, suppose I be of the baser degree, yet I am your head, and ye promised obedience at the day of our marriage, and that I should be equal with you, and participant in all things. I suppose you have used me otherwise by the persuasions of *Davie.* Her Majesty answered, and said, that all the shame that was done to her, that, my Lord, ye have the weight thereof; for the which I shall never be your wife, nor lie with you; nor shall never like well, till I gar you have as sore a heart as I have presently. Then the Lord *Ruthen* made answer, and besought her Majesty to be of good comfort, and to treat herself and the King her husband, and to use the counsel of the nobility, and he was assured her government should be as well guided as ever it was in any King's days. The said lord being so feebled with his sickness, and wearied with his travel, that he desired her Majesty's pardon to sit down upon a coffer, and called for a drink for God's sake: so a French man brought him a cup of wine, and after that he had drunken, the Queen's Majesty began to rail against the said lord: Is this your sickness, Lord *Ruthen?* The said Lord answered, God forbid that your Majesty had such a sickness; for I had rather give all the moveable goods that I have. Then, said her Majesty, if she died, or her bairn or common-weal perished, she should leave the revenge thereof to her friends to revenge the same upon the Lord *Ruthen* and his posterity; for she had the King of *Spain* her great friend, the Emperor likewise, and the King of *France* her good brother, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and her Unkles in France, besides the Pope's Holiness, with many other princes in *Italy*. The said lord answered, that these noble princes were over-great personages to meddle with such apoor man as he was, being her Majesty's own subject: and where her Majesty said, that if either she, her bairn, or the common-weal perished, the Lord *Ruthen* should have the weight thereof; he answered, that if any of the three perished, her Majesty's self and her particular counsel should have the weight thereof, and should be accused as well before God as the world: for there was no man there within that palace, but they that would honour and serve her Majesty, as becometh true subjects; and would suffer no manner of harm to be done to her Majesty's body than to their own hearts; and if any thing be done this night that your Majesty mislikes, charge the King your husband, and none of us your subjects; which the King confessed was of verity. In the same instant one came knocking fast at the Queen's chamber-door, declaring that the Earls *Huntly*, *Athol*, *Bothwel*, *Cathness*, and *Sutherland*, with the Lords *Fleming*, *Levingstone*, secretary, *Tillibarn*, the comptroller, and the Laird of *Grant*, with their own servants and officers of the palace, were fighting in the Close against the Earl of *Morton* and his company, being on the King's party. The King hearing the same, would have gone down, and the Lord *Ruthen* staid him, and desired him to intreat the Queen's Majesty, and he would go down and take order amongst them. So he passed to the Close, borne under the arm; and before his coming the officers were dwong into their houses; and the lords were holden in at the gallery door by the Earl of *Morton* and others being with him, and were constrained to pass up to the gallery and to their chambers. So the said Lord *Ruthen* passed up to the Earl *Bothwell's* chamber, where he found the Earls of *Huntley, Sutherland, Cathness*, the Laird of *Grant*, and divers others, to whom he shewed that the whole proceeding that was done that night, was done and invented by the King's Majesty's own devise, like as his hand-written was to shew thereupon; and how he had sent for the lords that were banished in England and Argyle, who would be there before day: And because there was some enmity unreconciled betwixt the Earls of *Huntly* and *Bothwell*, and the Earls of *Argyle* and *Murray*, and their colleagues, the said lords promised in their names, that it should be mended at the sight of two or three of the nobility, they doing such like to them; whereupon the said Earls of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* gave the Lord *Ruthen* their hands, and received his for the other part: and after they had drunken, the Lord *Ruthen* took his leave of them, and passed to the Earl of *Athol's* chamber, accompanied with the Earls of *Cathness, Sutherland*, and the Laird of *Grant;* and found with the said earl the comptroller, secretary, Mr. *James Balfour*, and divers others: and because of the familiarity and kindness betwixt the Earl of *Athol* and the Lord *Ruthen*, the earl began to be angry with the said lord, for that he would not shew him what enterprise soever that he had to do; whose answer was, that it was the King's action and the King's devise, and that none of them had further medling therewith than the King had commanded, like as his hand-written did testify. Yet the earl enquired further upon the Lord *Ruthen*, why he would not let him know thereof: he answered, it was the King's secret; and feared if he had given knowledge thereof, he would have revealed it to the Queen's Majesty, which might have been a hindrance of the purpose, and caused the King to have holden me unhonest for my part. The Earl perceiving that all that was done was the King's own deed, desired the said Lord *Ruthen* to pass to the King, and get him leave to pass to his country, and so many as were presently in the chamber with him. In this mean time the Earls of *Bothwell* and *Huntly*, taking a fear of the other lords returning out of England and Argyle, and because they were hardly imprisoned before, thought it better to escape too than to remain; so they went out at a low window, and passed their ways. In the mean time, while the Lord *Ruthen* was with the Earl of *Athol*, the King declared to the Queen's Majesty, that he had sent for the lords to return again; whereunto she answered, she was not in the blame that they were so long away; for she could have been content to have brought them home at any time, had it not been for angering the King; and to verify the same, when her Majesty gave a remission to the duke, the King was very miscontent therewith: whereto the King answered, that it was true that he was miscontented then, but now he was content, and doubted not but she would also be content to persevere in the good mind to them as she had done before. At the same time came the Provost of *Edinburgh*, and a great number of men of the town with him in arms to the utter court of the palace of *Holyrood-house*, where the King called out of the window to them, commanding them to return to their houses, like as they did; for he declared to them that the Queen's Majesty and he were in good health. The Lord *Ruthen* being come up to the Queen's chamber again, where the King was beside her, he shewed them that there was no hurt done, and that the lords and all others were merry, and no harm done. Then her Majesty enquired what was become of *Davie*. The said Lord *Ruthen* answered that he believed he was in the King's chamber; for he thought it not good to shew her as he died, for fear of putting her Majesty in greater trouble presently. Then the Queen's Majesty enquired of the said lord what great kindness was betwixt the Earl of *Murray* and him, that rather than he and the remanent should be forfaulted, that he would be forfault with them. Remember ye not, said she, what the Earl of *Murray* would have had me done to you for giving me the ring? The Lord *Ruthen* answered, that he would bear no quarrel for that cause, but would forgive him and all others for God's sake; and as to that ring, it had no more virtue than another, and was one little ring with a pointed diamond in it. Remember ye not, said her Majesty, that ye said it had a virtue to keep me from poisoning? Yea, madam, I said so much, that the ring had that virtue, only to take that evil opinion out of your head of poisoning, which you conceived that the Protestants would have done; which the said Lord knew the contrary, that the Protestants would have done no more harm to your Majesty's body than to their own hearts; but it was so imprinted in your Majesty's mind, that it could not be taken away without a contrary impression. Then said her Majesty, what fault or offence have I made to be handled in this manner? Inquire, said he, of the King your husband. Nay, but I will inquire of you: who answered, Madam, ye well remember that ye have had this long time a few number of privy persons, and most special *Davie*, a stranger *Italian*, who have guided and ruled you contrary to the advice of your nobility and counsel; and especially against these noblemen that were banished. But were ye not one of my council? what is the cause that ye should not have declared, if I had done any thing amiss against them that became me not? Because your Majesty would hear no such thing: for all the time that your Majesty was in Glascow or Dumfriese, let see if ever ye caused your council to sit, or to reason upon any thing, but did all things by your Majesty's self and your privy persons, albeit the nobility bare the pains and expences. Well, said her Majesty, ye find great fault with me, I will be contented to set down my crown before the lords of the articles; and if they find I have offended, to give it where they please. God forbid, madam, that your crown should be in such hazard; but yet, madam, who chose the lords of the articles? Not I, said she. Saving your Majesty's reverence, said the Lord *Ruthen*, ye chose them all in Seaton, and nominated them:

And as for your Majesty's council, it hath not been suffered to wait freely this long time, but behoved to say what was your pleasure. And as to the lords of the articles, your Majesty chose such as would say whatsoever you thought expedient to the forfaulters of the lords banished: And now when the lords of the articles have sitten fourteen days reasoning on the summons of treason, have ye found a just head wherefore they ought to be forfaulted? No, madam, not so much as one point, without false witness be brought in against them. Whereunto she gave no answer.

The Lord *Ruthen* perceiving that the Queen's Majesty was weary, said to the King, Sir, it is best ye take your leave at the Queen's Majesty, that she may take rest: So the King took his good night, and came forth of the Queen's chamber, and we with him, and left none there but the ladies, gentlewomen, and the grooms of the Queen's Majesty's chamber. And so soon as the King came to his own chamber, the Lord *Ruthen* declared, the message he had from the Earl of *Athol* to the King, that he might have license to return home to Athol: Which the King was loth to do without he gave him a band that he should be his. The Lord *Ruthen* answered, that he was a true man of his promise, and would keep the thing he said, as well as others would do their hand-writing and seal. Then the King desired him to fetch the Earl of *Athol* to him; which he did: And after the King and Earl of *Athol* had talked together, he desired the earl to be ready to come whensoever he should send for him. His answer was, that whensoever it pleased the Queen's Grace and him to send for him, that he would come gladly: And the earl desired the King that he might speak with the Queen's Majesty, which the King refused. And then the earl took his good night, and passed to his chamber, and the Lord *Ruthen* with him, where he made him ready and his company to pass forth, like as they did; and in his company were the Earls of *Sutherland* and *Cathness*, the Master of *Cathness*, the secretary, and controler, Mr *James Balfour*, the Laird of *Grant*, with divers others. Immediately the King directed two writings, subscribed with his hand, on

Saturday after the slaughter of *Davie*, to certain men of Edenburg bearing office for the time, charging them to convene men in arms, and make watch within the town upon the Calsay; and to suffer none others to be seen out of their houses, except Protestants, under all highest pain and charge that after may follow. And on the morrow after, which was Sunday the 10th of March, the King directed a letter, subscribed with his hand, making mention that it was not his will that the parliament should hold, for divers causes, but discharged the same by the tenor thereof: And therefore commanding all prelats, earls, lords, barons, commissioners, and barrowis, and others that are warned to the said parliament, to depart from Edenburg within three hours next after that charge, under the pain of life, lands, and goods, except so many as the King by his special command caused to remain; which letter was openly proclaimed at the Market-cross, and fully obeyed. The gates being locked, the King being in his bed, the Queen's Majesty walking in her chamber, the said Lord *Ruthen* took air upon the lower gate, and the privy passages: and at the King's command, in the mean time, *Davie* was hurled down the steps of the stairs from the place where he was slain, and brought to the porter's lodge; where the porter's servant taking off his clothes, said, This hath been his destiny; for upon this chest was his first bed when he entred into this place, and now here he lieth again, a very ingrate and misknowing knave. The King's whiniard was found sticking in *Davie's* side after he was dead; but always the Queen inquired of the King where his whiniard was? who answered, that he wit not well: Well, said she, it will be known afterwards.

The King rose at eight of the clock, and passed to the Queen's chamber, where he and she fell to reasoning of the matter proceeded the night afore, the one grating on the other till it was ten a clock, then the King came down to his chamber; and at his coming from her, she desired him to let all the ladies and gentlewomen come unto her, which the King granted, and at his coming down shewed the same to the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Ruthen*, who were not contented with the same; and shewed the King, that they feared that the Queen's Majesty would traffick by them with the lords, and all other that would do for her, like as it followed indeed: For instantly her Majesty wrote some writing, and caused them to write others in her name to the Earls of *Argile, Huntly, Bothwel, Athol,* and others. After that the King had dined, he passed up to the Queen's Majesty's chamber, where the Queen made as she would have parted with Bairn, and caused the midwife to come and say the same. So her Majesty complained that she could get none of the gentlewomen to come up to her, Scots nor French. The King sending this word to the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Ruthen,* all were let in that pleased. At the same time the Queen's Majesty thought that the Lord *Ruthen* would do her body harm, and sent *John Semple,* son to the Lord *Semple,* to Lord *Ruthen* to enquire what her Majesty might lippen unto in that behalf: Whose answer was, that he would no more harm to her body, than to his own heart; if any man intended to do otherwise, he should defend her Majesty's body at the uttermost of his power. And further said, her Majesty had experience of his mind in that night's proceeding, when he suffered none come near her Majesty to molest and trouble her. *John Semple* brought this message to the Lord *Ruthen* at two of the clock afternoon, sitting then in the King's utter chamber at his dinner. At four of the clock the King came down to his chamber, where the Lord *Ruthen* shewed him that the Queen's Majesty was to steal out among the throng of the gentlewomen in their down-coming, as he said he was advertised. So the King commanded him to give attendance thereto; which he did, and put certain to the door, and let no body nor gentlewoman pass forth undismuffled.

After, about seven or eight of the clock, the Earls of *Murray* and *Rothes,* with their complices, came out of England, and lighted at the abbey, and were thankfully received of the King; and after certain communing, the Earl of *Murray* took his good-night of the King, and passed to the Earl of *Morton*'s house to supper. Immediately thereafter, the Queen's Majesty sent one of her ushers, called *Robert Phirsell,* for the Earl of *Murray;* who passed to her Majesty, whom she received pleasantly, as appeared; and after communing, he passed to the Earl of *Morton's* house again, where he remained that night. At this time the King remained communing with the Queen's Majesty, and after long reasoning with her, she granted to lie with him all night, he coming to her chamber, and putting all men out of his utter chamber, except the waiters of his chamber, and made a complaint that her gentlewomen could not go forth at the door undismuffled at the King's coming down. He shewed the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Ruthen* the whole manner of his proceedings with the Queen's Majesty, which they liked no way, because they perceived the King grew effeminate again; and said to him, we see no other but ye are able to do that thing that will gar you and us both repent. Always he would have the said earl and lord to rid all the house, conform to the Queen's Majesty's desire; which they did, and the Lord *Ruthen* passed and lay in the King's wardrobe: and after he was lien down, *George Douglas* came to him, and shewed him that the King was fallen asleep. He caused *George* to go to wake the King; and after that he had gone in twice or thrice, finding him sleeping so sound, he would not awake him. Thereat the said lord was very miscontented; the King slept still till six in the morning, that the Lord *Ruthen* came and reproved him, that he had not kept his promise to the Queen's Majesty, in lying with her all that night. His answer was, that he was fallen on such a dead sleep that he could not awaken; and put the blame to *William Tellor*, one of his servants, that permitted him to sleep. But always, said he, I will take my night-gown and go up to the Queen. The Lord *Ruthen* answered, I trust she shall serve you in the morning as you did her at night. Always the King passed up, being Monday the 11th of March, at six of the clock, to her Majesty's chamber, and sat down on the bed-side, she being sleeping, or at least made her self so, and sat there by the space of one hour e're she spake word to him. Then when her Majesty waked, she enquired of the King, why he came not up yesterday night conform to his promise? He answered, he fell in so dead a sleep, that he awaked not afore six. Now, saith he, am I come, and offered to lie down beside her Majesty; but she would not suffer him, for she said she was sick, and would rise incontinent. Then the King fell in reasoning with her Majesty towards the returning of the said lords that were banished, and forgiving of them all offences, and likewise for the slaughter of *Davie:* and as appeared to him her Majesty was content; for the King came down to his own chamber at eight of the clock very merrily, and shewed the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Ruthen* the proceedings betwixt him and the Queen's Majesty: who answered him, and said, all was but words that they heard. For look how ye intend to perswade her Majesty; we fear she will persuade you to follow her will and desire, by reason she hath been trained up from her youth in the court of France, as well in the affairs of France as Scotland, in the privy council. Well, said the King, will ye let me alone, and I will warrant to dress all things well. And after that the King had put on his clothes, he passed at nine to the Queen's chamber, where he reasoned of many things with her Majesty: And at his returning to his dinner at eleven, he declared to the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton*, Lords *Ruthen* and *Lindzay*, that he had addressed the Queen's Majesty; that the said two earls and Lord *Ruthen*, should come to the presence of the Queen's Majesty, and she would forgive, and put in oblivion all things by-past, and bury them out of her Majesty's mind, as they had never been. The said earls and lords answered, that all that speaking was but policy; and suppose it were promised, little or nothing would be kept. Always the King took freely in hand, and bad them make such security as they pleased, and the Queen's Majesty and he should subscribe the same. And then after dinner the King passed up again to the Queen's chamber, where the midwife was made to come to him, and said, that the Queen would not fail to part with Bairn, if her Majesty went not to some other place where there were more freer air; and in like manner divers of the lords said the same. And the King returning to his chamber at three afternoon, declared the same to the Earls and Lord *Ruthen:* And in the mean time in came the French doctor, who declared to the King, that it was unable to the Queen's Majesty to eschew a fever;

which, if she take, she will not fail to part with Bairn, without she were transported from that place to some better aired place. After they were departed, the King inquired of the said earls and lords, what they thought of their speaking? Who answered, they feared all was but craft and policy that was spoken and done. Always the King would not trow the same, and said, that she was a true Princess, and that thing she promised, he would set his life for the same. And between four and five afternoon, the King passed to the Queen's chamber, and took the Earls of *Morton*, *Murray*, and Lord *Ruthen* with him; and after they had come to the Queen's utter chamber, the King went in and left the lords, to know her pleasure, whether her Majesty would come out of her utter chamber, or if the lords should come into her Majesty. She took purpose, and came out of the utter chamber, led by the King; the said earls and lords sitting down upon their knees, made their general oration by the Earl of *Morton*, chancellor, and after, their particular orations by themselves. And after that her Majesty had heard all, her answer was, that it was not unknown to the lords, that she was never blood-thirsty, nor greedy upon their lands and goods, sithence her coming into Scotland; nor yet would be upon theirs that were present, but would remit the whole number that was banished, or were at the last deed; and bury and put all things in oblivion as if they had never been; and so caused the said earls, lords, and barons, to arise on their feet. And afterwards her Majesty desired them to make their own security in that sort they pleased best, and she should subscribe the same. Thereafter her Majesty took the King by the one hand, and the Earl of *Murray* by the other, and walked in her said utter chamber the space of one hour; and then her Majesty passed into her inner chamber, where she and the King appointed, that all they that were on the King's party, should go forth of the place after supper. The King coming down to his chamber afore six of the clock, the articles which were the security that were on the King's party, were given by the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton*, and Lords *Ruthen* and *Lindsey* to the King, to be subscribed by the Queen, which the King took in hand so soon as he had supped to be done; and he desired the said lords to remove themselves out of the palace, to that effect, that her Majesty's guard and servants might order all as they pleased. The lords answer was to the King, You may well cause us to do that thing that is your pleasure, but it is sore against our wills; for we fear all this is but deceit that is meant towards us, and that the Queen's Majesty will pass away secretly, and take you with her, either to the castle of Edenburg, or else Dunbar. And here the Lord *Ruthen* protested, that what end followed thereupon, or what blood was shed for the same, that it should come upon the King's head and posterity, and nought upon theirs. The King said, he should warrant all. So they departed, and took their leave of the King, and passed all forth of the palace of Holyrood-house to the Earl of *Morton's* house, where they supped; and after supper directed Mr. *Archibald Douglass* to the King, to see if the Queen's Majesty had subscribed the articles of the lords and barons security. The King gave answer, that he had let the Queen's Majesty see them, who found them very good; and because she was sick and going to her bed, she delayed the subscribing of them to the morning; and immediately after Mr. *Archibald* returned to the lords with answer. The Laird of *Traquair*, master of the guard, made an errant to the Earl of *Murray*, to see what the lords were doing, and after he was departed, the whole earls, lords, and barons, with gentlemen, passed to the town of Edenburgh to their beds, believing surely the Queen's Majesty's promise, and the King's.

The same night about one a clock after midnight, the Queen's Majesty and the King with her, went out at a back-door that passed through the wine-cellar; where *Arthur Erskin*, the captain of the guard, and other six or seven persons, met her Majesty, with her horses, and rode toward Dunbar; and on the morrow, which was Tuesday, the 12th of March, the lords hearing how the Queen's Majesty was departed, and taken the King with her, convened the earls, lords, barons, and gentlemen, and after the matter was appointed, enquired every man's opinion, which concluded all to remain in the town of Edenburgh, till such time they might send some noblemen to her Majesty for performance of the articles promised for their security; and to that effect sent for the Lord *Semple,* and desired him that he would pass to Dunbar, with a writing of the lords, which he granted to do, and received the same with a copy of the articles that the King received before, and promised to do his utter diligence to get the same immediately sped, if it were the King and Queen's Majesties pleasure so to do. After the Lord *Semple's* coming to Dunbar, having presented the lords writing to their Majesties, he was evil taken with the Queen's Majesty, who caused him to remain three days: he reported at his returning, that there was no good way to be looked for there, but extremity to the earls, lords, and gentlemen, who had been at the slaughter of *David,* notwithstanding her Majesty's promise made before. At that time her Majesty being in Dunbar, wrote to all earls, lords, and barons, to meet her in Haddington town the 17th or 18th of March, and likewise directed universal letters, charging all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen to be there, day and place aforesaid, being in arms in fear of war; and also sent divers charges to the Lord *Erskine,* captain of the castle of Edinburgh, to shut up the town, unless the lords departed out of it. In this time it was declared to the Earl of *Murray,* that if he would sue address to the Queen's Majesty, he would obtain the same, who shewed it to the lords, who counselled him to write to her Majesty to that effect; which he did, and received her Majesty's answer with certain articles. In this time the Earl of *Glencarn* and *Rothes* took their appointment of the Queen's Majesty. The Earl of *Morton,* Lord *Ruthen,* and the remanent their complices, perceiving that the Queen was willing to remit the lords banished into England and Argyle, and bare her Majesty's whole rage against them that were with the King at the slaughter of *Davie,* thought best to retire themselves into England, under the Queen's Majesty of England's protection, till such time as the nobility of Scotland their peers, understood their cause; for they have done nothing without the King's command, as is before mentioned, and doubt not but their cause shall be found just and honest whensoever the same be tried; and lament the extream handling contrary to order and justice, that they may not compear for fear of their lives; in respect that her Majesty hath caused a band to be made, and all earls, lords, and barons, that resorted to her Majesty, to subscribe the same, that they shall pursue the said Earl *Morton*, Lord *Ruthen*, and *Lindsay*, and their complices with fire and sword; which is against all order of the law: And on Saturday, the 22d of March, her Majesty hath caused to be summoned the Earl of *Morton*, Lords *Ruthen* and *Lindsay*, the Master of *Ruthven*, Lairds of *Ormyston*, *Brinston*, *Halton*, *Elvelston*, *Calder*, *Andrew Carr* of Faldomside, *Alexander Ruthen*, brother to the Lord *Ruthen*, *Patrick Murray* of Tippermure, *William Douglas* of Whittingham, *Archibald Douglas*, his brother, *George Douglas*, *Lyndsay* of Prystone, *Thomas Scott* of Cambysmichet, *William Douglas* of Lochleven, *James Jeffert* of Shreffal, *Adam Erskine*, commendator of Camskinnel, *Mentershfear* of Kars, *Patrick Ballenden* of Stenehouse, brother to Justice Clerk, *Patrick Wood* of Conyton, Mr. *James Magil*, clerk of registers, with others, to compear before her Majesty and secret council within six days, under the pain of rebellion, and putting them to her horn, and eschetting and bringing of all their moveable goods, the which like order is not used in any christian realm; nor is it the law of Scotland of old; but new cropen in, and invented by them that understand no law nor yet good practice: and how her Majesty hath handled the barons of *Lothian* our brothers, it is known; and in likewise our poor brethren of Edinburgh, merchants, and craftsmen, and how they are oppressed by the men of war God knoweth, who will put remedy hereto when it pleaseth him best: and how the lords and barons wives are oppressed in spoiling of their places, robbing of their goods without any fine for the same, it would pity a godly heart. And where her Majesty alledgeth, that night that *Davie* was slain, some held pistols to her Majesty; some stroke whiniards so near her, that she felt the coldness of the iron, with many other such like sayings, which we take God to record was never meant nor done; for the said *Davie* received never a stroke in her Majesty's presence, nor was not stricken till he was at the farthest door of her Majesty's utter chamber, as is before rehearsed. Her Majesty makes all these allegations to draw the Earl *Morton,* the Lord *Ruthen* and *Lindsay,* and their complices, in greater hatred with other foreign princes, and with the nobility and commonalty of the realm, who have experience of the contrary, and know that there was no evil meant to her Majesty's body. The eternal God who hath the rule of Princes hearts in his hands, send her his Holy Spirit, to instruct her how she should rule and govern with clemency and mercy over her subjects. Written at Berwick the 28th day of March, 1565.

NOTES.

The body of Riccio was buried within two hours after the murder in the cemetery of Holyrood. Buchanan states, that it was shortly after removed by the Queen's orders, and buried in the sepulchre of the Kings of Scotland; a measure the most impolitic, as it strengthened the previous reports of her familiarity with him.

The process against the persons concerned was very severe; some were put to death; others banished; and many were fined; but the principals of the conspiracy had either escaped into England, or concealed themselves in the Highlands. All offices and places of trust were taken away from those who were in the least suspected, and conferred on their enemies. And a proclamation was issued, forbidding any person to say that the King had any knowledge or part in the death of Riccio. The preceding account by Lord Ruthen is however a sufficient proof of the King's share in it, and the proclamation only tends to confirm it.

AN

Account of a Quarrel

BETWEEN

ARTHUR HALL, ESQ.

AND

MELCHISEDECH MALLERIE, GENT.

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SUITS WHICH AROSE THEREFROM:

AND A LETTER ON THE ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF PARLIAMENT,
WITH ADVICE TO A MEMBER FOR HIS CONDUCT THEREIN.

THE WHOLE WRITTEN BY ARTHUR HALL, ESQ.
MEMBER FOR GRANTHAM IN SEVERAL PARLIAMENTS OF Q. ELIZABETH,
AND TRANSLATOR OF TEN BOOKS OF HOMER'S ILIAD
INTO ENGLISH VERSE.

LONDON:
REPRINTED FOR ROBERT TRIPHOOK, 37, ST. JAMES'S STREET.
1815.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In the present portion of our Archæological Miscellany we have the satisfaction of rescuing from oblivion one of the most curious and lively pictures of ancient manners perhaps in existence; and if it were fair to estimate the value of things by their rarity, the following tract might on this score lay claim to a high degree of consideration: we should not, however, have thought ourselves warranted in reprinting it, had it only this recommendation; but it has a much more powerful title to the place it holds in this work, and the curious inquirer into ancient manners will be highly gratified with the singularly interesting view which it affords of the habits and manners of the young men of family and fashion who formed the court of our maiden Queen.

The author of this literary rarity, *Arthur Hall*, is well known to those who are curious in our poetical antiquities, as the author of the first attempt to render Homer's Iliad into English. He appears to have been a travelled and well educated man; and the following performance, though it sometimes exhibits him in an unamiable point of view, yet has a discrimination and show of candour pervading it, which speaks loudly in favour of his judgment.

In his translation of Homer he has, however, entirely failed. The attempt was probably beyond his powers, and yet it may be in some measure owing to his having used the tame and insipid French version of Hugues de Salel, and his unfortunate preference of the Alexandrine measure of Sternhold and Hopkins; it seems however that he compared his translation with the Latin version, and occasionally with the Greek; but it must be confessed it has now but little claim to our attention, and derives its chief value from the circumstance of being the first translation of Homer, and but for this, it would not perhaps, even in the present age when our early poetry is so eagerly coveted by collectors, hold any place in a poetical library. In the advertisement prefixed to his translation of Homer, he says he began it about 1563, under the advice and encouragement of " Mr. Robert Askame, a familiar acquaintance of Homer's:" it is presumed he here means the celebrated Roger Ascham, who must have thought highly of his juvenile capacity, by advising him to undertake such an arduous task.

He appears to have been the representative for the borough of Grantham in several successive parliaments, and being disabled by the vote of the House from again serving, in 1586 he sued the borough for his wages. That he was rather of a turbulent disposition will plainly appear from the following statement of his quarrel with Mallerie; for as it is his own account, we may fairly presume that some of the asperities of his case are softened. The severity with which he was visited by the House of Commons makes it plainly appear that he was obnoxious to them; and the frequency with which his name appears on the Journals as a refractory member, reflects no credit on his character, unless we could conceive his vile picture of the House a just one, and that he resisted their measures and became troublesome from a sense of duty. Be this as it may, and supposing his statement exaggerated, the House of Commons appears to have been, as then constituted, a kind of bear garden; that his attack upon it was in some degree justified by its character, and is perhaps further extenuated by his supposing himself unjustly and harshly treated from motives of party feeling among them, and on account of his censure of their slavish servility and degraded state.

To the legislator of the present day, the circumstantial detail of the proceedings in Parliament, which are to be found in the following pages, will be highly amusing: and the second part of this performance may be read with considerable advantage by all who fill or aspire to that dignified and important station. For the lawyer, the curious detail of the conduct of the suit between Mallerie and Hall must have a very considerable degree of interest: and to all who take pleasure in inquiring into the state of manners among our ancestors, this volume possesses considerable attraction. It is no imaginary picture drawn by the hand of fancy, or overcharged exhibition of fashionable follies designed by a satiric pencil, but a true portraiture of living manners delineated by an actor in the scene, with a force and vigour that brings them before us "as they lived," so that we may imagine we see them act, and hear them discourse.

Ames, and Herbert,* have both, under the head of Henry Bynneman, referred to the Journals of the House of Commons to show that he was summoned before the House for having printed a libellous pamphlet written by Arthur Hall; but they have neither of them been enabled even to hazard a conjecture of its title. If we attend to the proceedings, as registered in Sir Simon D'Ewes, we shall see that but fourteen copies out of eighty or an hundred, which were printed, were delivered to Hall and his friends by the printer; the rest were condemned and consequently destroyed by a decree of the House. It is therefore a very extraordinary chance which has preserved *one* out of so small a number of copies; and the Editor accounts himself fortunate in being instrumental to the preservation of so curious and *piquant* a morsel to the literary antiquary of this inquiring age.

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* *Herbert's Ames,* vol. ii. p. 965.

The following extracts from D'Ewes' Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, will illustrate the history of this singular pamphlet most fully.

"Upon sundry motions made by divers of this House, it was ordered, that Arthur Hall, Esq. for sundry lewd speeches used as well in this House as also abroad elsewhere, shall have warning by the Serjeant to be here on Monday next, and at the bar to answer to such things as he shall then and there be charged with. *17th May,* 1572.

And it was further ordered, that all such persons as have noted his words in writing, either in this house or abroad, do forthwith assemble in the chamber above, and put the same words in writing, and afterwards deliver them to Mr. Speaker, to the end he may charge the said Hall on Monday next.

This day Arthur Hall, Esq. being brought by the Serjeant to the bar and charged by the House with seven several articles, humbly submitted himself to the House, and confessed his folly as well touching the said articles, as also his other fond and unadvised speech at the bar, and was upon the question remitted with a good exhortation given him by Mr. Speaker at large. *19th May.* 1572.

Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Nicholas Arnold, and Mr. Sergeant Lovelace were appointed to examine the matter touching the arrest of Mr. Hall's servant, before Mr. Speaker at his chamber. *16th Feb.* 1575.

Upon the question and also upon the division of the House, it was ordered, that Edward Smalley, yeoman, servant unto Arthur Hall, Esq. one of the burgesses for Grantham, shall have priviledge. *20th Feb.*

Report was made by Mr. Attorney of the dutchy upon the committee for the delivery of Mr. Hall's man, that the committee found no precedent for setting at large by the mace, any person in arrest, but only by writ, and that by divers precedents of records perused by the said committees it appeareth, that every Knight, Citizen, and Burgess of this House which doth require priviledge, hath used in that case to take a corporal oath before the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal for the time being; that the party for whom such writ is prayed, came up with him, and was his servant at the time of the arrest made; and that Mr. Hall was thereupon moved by this House that he should repair to the Lord Keeper and make oath in form aforesaid, and then to proceed to the taking of a warrant for a writ of priviledge for his said servant, according to the said report of the said former precedents. *22d Feb.*

After sundry reasons and arguments it was resolved, that Edward Smalley, servant unto Arthur Hall, Esq. shall be brought hither to-morrow by the Serjeant, and set at liberty by warrant of the Mace, and not by Writ. *27th Feb.*

Edward Smalley, servant unto Arthur Hall, Esq. being this day brought to the bar in the House by the Serjeant of this House, and accompanied with two Serjeants of London, was presently delivered from his imprisonment and execu- *28th Feb.*

tion according to the former judgment of this House, and the said Serjeants of London discharged of their said prisoner; and immediately after that the said Serjeants of London were sequestred out of this House, and the said Edward Smalley was committed to the charge of the Serjeant of this House. And thereupon the said Edward Smalley was sequestred till this House should be resolved upon some former motions, whether the said Edward Smalley did procure himself to be arrested upon the said execution, in the abusing and contempt of this House, or not.

7th March, 1575. Upon the question it was ordered that Mr. Hall be sequestred the House while the matter touching the supposed contempt done to this House be argued and debated.

Edward Smalley upon the question was adjudged guilty of contempt, and abusing of this House by fraudulent practice of procuring himself to be arrested upon the execution of his own assent and intention, to be discharged as well of his imprisonment as of the said execution.

Matthew Kirtleton, school-master to Mr. Hall, was likewise upon another question adjudged guilty by this House of like contempt and abusing of this House, in confederacy and practice with the said Smalley in the intentions aforesaid.

Upon another question it was adjudged by the House, that the said Smalley be for his misdemeanor and contempt committed to the prison of the Tower.

Upon the like question it was also adjudged by this House, that the said Kirtleton, schoolmaster, be also for his said lewd demeanor and contempt in abusing of this House committed to the prison of the Tower.

Upon another question it was also resolved that the Serjeant of this House be commanded to bring the said Edward Smalley and the said Matthew Kirtleton, schoolmaster to Mr. Hall, into the House to-morrow next in the forenoon, to hear and receive their said judgments accordingly.

And further that the matter wherein the said Arthur Hall, Esq. is supposed to be touched either in the privity of the said matter of arrest, or in the abusing of the committees of this House, shall be deferred to be further dealt in till tomorrow.

10th March. The Bill against Arthur Hall Esq, Edward Smalley, and Matthew Kirtleton his servant, was read the first time.

Edward Smalley, servant unto Arthur Hall, Esq. appearing in this House this day at the bar, it was pronounced unto him by Mr. Speaker in the name and by the appointment and order of this House, for execution of the former judgment of this House awarded against him, That he the said Edward Smalley shall be forthwith committed prisoner from this House to the Tower of London, and there remain for one whole month next ensuing from this present day; and further after the same month expired, until such time as good and sufficient assurance shall be had and made for payment of 100*l.* of good and lawful money of England, to be paid unto William Hewet administrator of the goods, chattels, and debts of Melchisedech Malory, Gent. deceased, upon the first day of the next term, according to the former order in that behalf by this House made and set down, and also forty shillings for the Serjeants fees; the notice of which assurance for the true payment of the said hundred pounds in form aforesaid, to be certified unto Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower by Mr. Recorder of London before any delivery or setting at liberty of the said Edward Smalley to be in any wise had, or made, at any time after the expiration of the said month, as is aforesaid; and that he shall not be delivered out of prison before such notice certified, whether the same be before the said first day of the next term, or after.

4*th Feb.* 1580.

Motion respecting the letter.

Upon a motion made to this House by Mr. Norton, in which he declared that some person of late had caused a book to be set forth in print, not only greatly reproachful against some particular good members of this House of great credit, but also very much slanderous and derogatory to the general authority, power, and state of this House, and prejudicial to the validity of the proceedings of the same, in making and establishing of laws, charging this House with drunkenness, as accompanied in their councils with *Bacchus*, and then also wiht choler, as those which had never sailed to *Anticyra*, and the proceedings of this House to be *Opera tenebrarum*; and further that by the circumstance of the residue of the discourse of the said book he conjectured the same to be done and procured by Mr. *Arthur Hall* one of this House, and so prayed thereupon the said Mr. Hall might be called by this House to answer, and the matter further to be duly examined as the weight thereof, in due consideration of the gravity and wisdom of this House and of the authority, state, and liberty of the same requireth. It is resolved that the said Mr. Hall be forthwith sent for by the Serjeant at arms attending upon this House, to make his appearance here in that behalf accordingly.

And then immediately Mr. Secretary Wilson did thereupon signify unto this House, that the said Mr. Hall had upon his examination therein, before the Lords of the Council, heretofore confessed in the hearing of the said Mr. Secretary, that he did cause the said book to be printed indeed; upon relation whereof and after some speech then also uttered unto this House by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the dangerous and lewd contents of the book, the Serjeant was forthwith by order of this House sent to apprehend the said Arthur Hall, and presently assisted for that purpose with Sir Thomas Scott and Sir Thomas Browne, by the appointment of this House.

A commission was also given by this whole House unto Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Wilson, Mr. Treasurer of the Chamber, Sir Henry Lea, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir William Fitz Williams, and Sir Henry Gate, to send for the printer of the said book, and to examine him touching the said matter, and afterwards to make report thereof to this House accordingly. And also to take order and advice further for the sending for and apprehending of the said Arthur Hall, if it should so fall out that he did withdraw himself or depart out of town before such time as the said Serjeant could find him; with this further resolution also, that any such Member of this House as should happen first to see him or meet him, might and should in the name of this whole House stay him and bring him forth to answer the said matter forthwith before the whole House with all possible speed.

6th Feb. 1580.

Bynneman examined:

delivers 1 book to Shirland: 12 books to Hall, 1 book to his man:

received 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for printing it.

Hall declares he had only one book delivered.

Mr. Secretary Wilson declaring the travel of the committees in examining of the printer that did print Mr. Hall's book, signified unto this house, that the said printer, whose name is *Henry Bynnyman,* upon his examination before the committees said, that one John Wells, a scrivener in Fleet Street, did deliver the written copy to him; and when the book was printed he delivered one book to Henry Shirland, in Friday Street, linen-draper, to be sent to Mr. Hall, and that afterwards about a year past he delivered to Mr. Hall six of the said books, and at Michaelmas term last, six other of the said books, and one more to Mr. Hall's man shortly after; and said that Mr. Hall promised to get him a priviledge, whereupon he adventured (he saith) to print the book, and saith that the copy was written by Wells the scrivener, and that he received of the said Shirland linen cloth to the value of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for printing the said book. And that he staid of his own accord the publishing of the said books till he were paid, where Mr. Hall was contented that they should have been put to sale presently. Which report so made by Mr. Secretary, and withal that Mr. Hall and the printer were both then at the door, the said Mr. Hall was thereupon brought to the bar, and being charged by Mr. Speaker in the behalf of the whole house, with the setting forth the said book containing very lewd and slanderous reproach, not only against some particular members of this house, but also against the general state and authority of this whole house, denied not the setting forth of the said book, protesting the same to be done by him without any malicious intent or meaning, either against the state of this house, or against any member of the same; praying this whole house (if he had offended in so doing) they would remit and pardon him; affirming withal very earnestly that he never had any more than one of the said books: and upon due consideration of his own rashness and folly therein, willed that all the said books should be suppressed, and then was Mr. Hall sequestred.

80 or 100 copies of the book printed.

Henry Bynnyman the printer was brought to the bar, who affirmed all things as Mr. Secretary Wilson before reported; and further, that he had printed fourscore or an hundred of the said books, and was thereupon sequestred.

Henry Shirland was brought to the bar, who there confessed that Mr. Hall did write a letter unto him, and sent the said book unto him, willing him to get it printed. And that thereupon he delivered the book to the said Bynnyman to have it printed, Wells the scrivener being present with him; and said further that Mr. Hall had paid him again the twenty nobles which before he had paid the printer; and so he was then sequestred.

And the said Wells brought to the bar, upon his examination saith, that when he was apprentice with one Mr. Dalton, a scrivener in Fleet Street, the said Mr. Hall lying then about Pauls-wharf, sent unto his said master to send one of his men unto him, and that thereupon his said master sent him unto the said Mr. Hall, who when he came delivered to him a book in written hand, willing him to carry it home with him and copy it out; and said, that when he had shewed it to his master, his master commanded him to write part of it, and his fellows some other part of it; and his said master as he remembreth did write the rest of it. What his master had for the writing of it, he knoweth not. And being further examined saith, that yesterday last past he delivered one of the said books to Sir Randal Brierton from the said Mr. Hall, and then the said John Wells was sequestred. And afterwards all the Privy council being of this house, Mr. Knight Marshal, Mr. Recorder of London, Mr. Serjeant Flowerdewe, Mr. St. Leiger, Mr. Cromwell, Mr. Atkins the Master of the Jewel-house, Sir Thomas Browne, Sir Thomas Scott, Mr. Nathaniel Bacon, Mr. Beale, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Alford, were added to the former committees for the further proceeding to the examination of the matter touching Mr. Hall, the printer, the scrivener, and all other persons, parties or privy to the publishing of the said book, set forth in print by the means and procurement of the said Mr. Hall, and to meet upon Wednesday next at two of the clock in the afternoon in the Exchequer Chamber.

Which done Mr. Hall being brought to the bar again, Mr. Speaker declared unto him that this house mindeth further to examine the particularities of the matter wherewith they have charged him, and do therefore commit him to the Serjeant's ward with this liberty, that upon Wednesday next in the afternoon being accompanied with the Serjeant he may attend at the Exchequer Chamber upon the committees in the cause, and was thereupon had out of the house.

Henry Bynnyman the printer, John Wells the scrivener, and Henry Shirland linen-draper, being brought all three to the bar, were by Mr. Speaker injoined in the name of the whole house to give their attendance upon the said committees at the time and place aforesaid, and also at all times in the mean season thereof if they shall happen to be called by them or any of them, and so were had out of the house.

And further it is ordered by this house, that Mr. Speaker do send the Serjeant for John Dalton, late master of the said John Wells, and to charge him also to attend upon the said committees at the said time and place in like manner.

8th Feb. 1580.

It is ordered, that Mr. Hall's matter be examined by the committees to-morrow in the afternoon, for that the same cannot be dealt in this day by reason of the conference to be had with the Lords this afternoon at the court touching matters of religion.

14th Feb. 1580.

The committe's report.

Mr. Vice-Chamberlain for himself and the residue of the committees appointed to examine Mr. Hall, the printer, the scrivener, and all other persons privy to the setting forth and publishing of the book, declared that they had charged the said Mr. Hall with contempt against this house the last session, in that being injoined by this house to appear, he departed out of town in contempt of the court; and afterwards testified the same his wilful contempt by an unseemly letter addressed by him to this house; and charged him further with divers articles of great importance selected by the said committees out of the said book; as first, with publishing the conferences of this house abroad in print, and that in a libel with a counterfeit name of the author, and no name of the printer, and containing matter of infamy of sundry good particular members of the house, and of the whole state of the house in general, and also of the power and authority of this house, affirming that he knew of his own knowledge that this house had *de facto* judged and proceeded untruly.

And was further charged, that he had injuriously impeached the memory of the late Speaker deceased, and had impugned the authority of this house in appointing committees without his assent; and that in defacing the credit of the body and members of this house, he practised to deface the authority of the laws and proceeding in the parliament, and so to impair the ancient orders touching the government of the realm and rights of this house and the form of making laws, whereby the subjects of the realm are governed. And further was charged, that since his being before the Lords of the Council for his said offence, and after that he had received rebuke of them for the same, and had offered some form of a submission, he had eftsoon again published the said book, and that whereas upon his examination in the house he had denied the having any more than one of the said books, it was yet proved he had twelve or thirteen, and six of them since the time he was called before the said Lords of the Council.

Unto all which things as the said Mr. Hall could make no reasonable answer or denial, so the said Mr. Vice-Chamberlain very excellently setting forth the natures and qualities of the said offences in their several degrees, moved in the end, that Mr. Hall being without at the door might be called in to answer unto those points before the whole house, and so thereupon to proceed to some end; and therewithal perswading a due consideration of spending the time, as much as might be, in matters of greatest moment, wherein much less hath been done this session than in any other these many years in like quantity of time. And thereupon after divers other motions and speeches had in the said matter, the printer was brought to the bar, and being examined, avowed that Mr. Hall, after that he had been before the Lords of the Council, came to him and told him that he had answered the matter for the books before the Council, and that therefore the printer might deliver the said books abroad; and also where the said Printer wished unto the said Mr. Hall since his last committing, that all the said books had been burned before he meddled with them, Mr. Hall should say to him again, he would not for a hundred pound. And then being sequestred.

Hall brought to the bar.

Mr. Hall was brought to the bar, where after some reverence done by him, though not yet in such humble and lowly wise as the state of one in that place to be charged and accused requireth, whereof being admonished by Mr. Speaker, and further by him charged with sundry of the said parts collected out of the said book, he submitted himself to the house, refusing to make any answer or defence at all in the matter, but acknowledging his errour, prayed pardon of the whole house with all his heart; and that done, was sequestred.

After which upon sundry motions and arguments had, touching the quality and nature of his faults, and of some proportionable forms of punishment for the same, as imprisonment, fine, banishment from the fellowship of this house, and an utter condemnation and retractation of the said book; it was upon the question resolved by the whole house without any one negative voice, that he should be committed to prison.

And upon another question it was likewise resolved, that he should be committed to the prison of the Tower, as the prison proper to this house.

Hall to be imprisoned in the Tower six months;

And upon another question it was in like manner resolved, that he should remain in the said prison of the Tower by the space of six months, and so much longer as until himself should willingly make a retractation of the said book to the satisfaction of this house, or of such order as this house shall take for the same during the continuance of this present parliament.

And upon another question it was also in like manner resolved, that a fine should be assessed by this house to the Queen's Majesty's use, upon the said Mr. Hall, for his said offence.

And upon another question it was also resolved in like manner, that the said fine should be five hundred marks.

and fined 500 marks.

And upon another question also it was likewise resolved, that the said Mr. Hall should presently be severed and cut off from being a member of this house any more during the continuance of this present parliament; and that Mr. Speaker by authority of this house should direct a warrant from this house to the Clerk of the Crown-office in the Chancery, for awarding of the Queen's Majesty's writ to the Sheriff of the said county of Lincoln, for a new burgess to be returned into this present parliament for the said borough of Grantham, in lieu and stead of the said Arthur Hall, so as before disabled any longer to be a member of this house.

Expelled the House.

And upon another question it was also in like manner resolved, that the said book and slanderous libel should and shall be holden, deemed, taken, and adjudged to be utterly false and erroneous, and that the same shall be publicly testified, affirmed, and set forth to be false, seditious, and erroneous in such sort, order, and degree as by this house shall be during this session of parliament further determined in that behalf.

The book adjudged a false and seditious libel.

Which done the said Mr. Hall was brought in again to the bar, unto whom Mr. Speaker in the name of the whole house pronounced the said judgment in form aforesaid, and so the Serjeant commanded to take charge of him and convey him to the said prison of the Tower, and to deliver him to Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower by warrant from this house to be directed and signed by Mr. Speaker for that purpose. Which done and the said Mr. Hall being had away by the Serjeant, it was agreed (upon a motion made by Mr. Speaker) that the whole course and form of the said proceedings and judgment of this house against the said Mr. Hall should be afterwards orderly digested and set down in due form, to be first read in this house, and then so entered by the clerk as the residue of the orders and proceedings of this house in other cases are used to be done, and so it was afterwards drawn into form, read unto the house, and entered by the clerk accordingly.

Hall committed to the Tower.

8th March, 1580. Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Thomas Scott, Mr. Cromwell, Mr. Atkins, and Mr. Norton, were appointed to confer together touching the answering and satisfying of the contents of a letter written by Mr. Hall to Mr. Speaker, which was here read in the house by the clerk, and delivered to Mr. Cromwell one of the committees to be considered by him and the residue of the said committees accordingly.

18th March. 1580. Whereas by a former order of this house Arthur Hall, Esq. was committed prisoner to the Tower of London, there to remain by the space of six months, and so much longer as until himself should willingly make a general revocation or retractation under his hand in writing, of certain errors and slanders contained in a certain book set forth in print and published in part, greatly tending to the slander and reproach of Sir Robert Bell, Knight, deceased, late Speaker of this present parliament, and of sundry other particular members of this house, and also of the power, antiquity, and authority of this house, to the satisfaction of this house, or of such order as this house should take for the same during the coutinuance of this present session of parliament, as by the same order made and set down by this house upon Tuesday being the 14th day of February foregoing in this present session of parliament more at large doth and may appear: And where also the said Arthur Hall hath ever since the said order taken, remained in the said prison in the Tower, and yet still doth, and hath not at all made any revocation or retractation of the said slanders, errors, and untruths, to the satisfaction of this said house according to the said order; It is now therefore ordered and resolved by this house, That the further allowance of such revocation or retractation to be hereafter made as aforesaid, shall be referred unto the Right Honourable Sir Francis Knolles, Knt. one of her Majesty's most honourable privy council, and treasurer of her Highness' most honourable household, Sir James Crofte, Knight, one other of her Majesty's most honourable privy council, and comptroller of her Majesty's said most honourable household, Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, one other of her Highness' said most honourable privy council, and vice-chamberlain to her Majesty, Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, and Thomas Wilson, Esquire, her Highness' two principal secretaries, Sir Walter Mildmay, Knight, one of her Majesty's most honourable privy council and chancellor of her Highness' court of exchequer, and Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight, one other of her Majesty's said most honourable privy council and chancellor of her Highness' dutchy of Lancaster, being all members of this house, or unto any three of them, to be by them or any three of them further declared and reported over unto this house in the next session of parliament to be holden after the end of this said session accordingly.

Hall not having made a retractation, his case referred to a committee.

12th Dec. 1585. On Saturday the 12th day of December, notice being given to the house of one Mr. Hall, a member of the same, that had not attended all this parliament, it was ordered that the Serjeant should give him warning to attend upon Monday next.

13th Dec. The business of Mr. Arthur Hall, of which the house had been informed upon their first meeting this morning, was before the rising of the house referred to Mr.

Wolley, Mr. Cromwell, Mr. Diggs, and Mr. Sandes, to peruse the order touching the same against Monday next, being the day appointed by the house for the said Mr. Hall to appear before them.

No mention of Hall's examination in the Journals.

21st Nov. 1586.

Motion in behalf of the borough of Grantham on account of Hall's suit for his wages as Member.

On Monday the 21st day of November (to which day the parliament had been on Friday the 18th day of the said month foregoing last adjourned) Mr. Markham, a burgess for the borough of Grantham in the county of Lincoln, shewed on the behalf of the inhabitants of the said borough, that Mr. Arthur Hall having been in some former parliaments returned a burgess for the said borough, and in some of the same parliaments, for certain causes the house then moving, disabled for ever afterwards to be any member of this house at all, hath of late brought a writ against the inhabitants of the said borough for his wages (amongst other times) in attendance at the late session of parliament holden at Westminster in the 27th year of her Highnesses reign; during which time, as also a great part of some other of the said former parliaments he did not serve in the said house, but was for some causes as aforesaid disabled to be any member of this house, and was also then committed prisoner to the Tower of London. And so prayeth the advice and order of this honourable house therein, unto the censure and order whereof the said inhabitants do in most humble and dutiful wise submit themselves. And so shewed the said writ, which was then read by the clerk. After the reading whereof, and some speeches had touching the former proceedings in this house against the said Mr. Hall, as well in disabling him to be any more a member of this house, as also touching his said imprisonment, the matter was referred to further consideration after search of the precedents and entries of this house heretofore had and made in the course of the said cause.

2d Dec. 1586.

On Friday the 2d day of December, upon a motion this day renewed on the behalf of the inhabitants of the borough of Grantham in the county of Lincoln, touching a writ brought againt them by Arthur Hall, Esq, whereby he demandeth wages of the said inhabitants for his service done for them in attendance at sundry parliaments, being elected and returned one of the burgesses of the said borough in the same parliaments; forasmuch as it is alledged that the said Arthur Hall hath been heretofore disabled by this house to be at any time afterwards a member of this house; and also that in some sessions of the same parliaments he hath neither been free of the corporation of the said borough, and in some other also hath not given any attendance in parliament at all; It is ordered that the examination of the state of the cause be committed to the Right Honourable Sir Walter Mildmay, Knt. one of her Majesty's most honourable privy council, chancellor of her Highnesses court of exchequer, Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight, one other of her Majesty's most honourable privy council and chancellor of her Highnesses dutchy of Lancaster, Thomas Cromwell, Robert Markham, and Robert Wroth, Esquires; to the end that after due examination thereof by them had, (if it shall so seem good to them) they do thereupon move the Lord Chancellor on the behalf of this house, to stay the granting out of any attachment or other process against the said inhabitants, for the said wages, at the suit of the said Ar-

Case referred to a Committee.

thur Hall: And the said committees also to signify their proceedings therein to this house at the next sitting thereof accordingly.

"*An Order delivered by Mr. Cromwell, entered by consent of the House.*

21st March, 1586-7.

Report of the committee on the case.

Whereas upon complaint made to this house (upon Monday the 21st day of November in the first meeting of this present parliament) on the behalf of the borough of Grantham in the county of Lincoln, against Arthur Hall, Gentleman, that the said Arthur Hall had commenced suits against them for wages by him demanded of the said borough, as one of the burgesses of the parliament in the sessions of parliament holden the thirteenth, fourteenth, eighteenth, and twenty-third years of the reign of our sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, wherein it was alledged that the said borough ought not to be charged as well in respect of the negligent attendance of the said Mr. Hall at the said sessions of parliament and some other offences by him committed at some of the said sessions, as also in respect that he had made promise not to require any such wages; the examination of the said cause on the second day of December, in the last session (mistaken for meeting) of this parliament by order of this house was committed unto Sir Ralph Sadler, Knt. chancellor of the dutchy, Sir Walter Mildmay, Knt. chancellor of the exchequer, Thomas Cromwell, Robert Markham, and Robert Wroth, Esquires; This day report was made by the said committees that not having time during the last session of parliament (mistaken for meeting) to examine the circumstances of the cause, they had in the mean season by their letters advertised my Lord Chancellor, that the said cause was committed unto them, and humbly requested his Lordship to stay the issuing forth of any further process against the said borough until this session of parliament (mistaken for meeting), which accordingly his Lordship had very honourably performed. And the said committees did further declare, that having, during this session of parliament (mistaken for meeting) sent for Mr. Hall, declared unto him the effect of the complaint against him, they had desired him to remit the said wages which he had demanded of the said borough, whom they found very conformable to condescend to such their request: and that the said Mr. Hall then affirmed unto them, that if the said citizens of the said borough would have made suit unto him, he would upon such their own suit then remitted the same, so was he very willing to do any thing which might be grateful to this house, and did freely and frankly remit the same; which being well liked of by this house, it was by them this day ordered that the same be entered accordingly."

Hall remits his suit for wages.

A letter sent by F. A. touching the proceedings in a private quarell and vnkindnesse, *between Arthur Hall, and Mel*chisedech Mallerie, Gentlemen, to his very friend L. B. being in Italy.

With an admonition by the Father of
F. A. to him, being a Burgesse of
the Parliament, for his better behaviour therein.

To the right worshipful
Sir Henrie Knevet Knight,

the Printer wishes, worship, health
and long life.

AFTER by an extraordinarye meanes (good Knight) this letter with the appurtenances in written hand, came to be mette withall by mee, I was of divers mindes, one way not to bestowe the cost on such a trifle, an otherway not to consent to the smothering of well disposed (as I take it) persons, thirdly not to thrust out what I found presupposed, with partiall minde to harme innocents (as I conceive it) and having preferred will (be it so) before reason, I yeelde to you my labour and the setting my letters together, praying with all, that my good will may be accepted by you, who (I can well gather) a partie in this tragedie, countes himselfe much beholding to: and tho' I might direct perhap my travel to men as it seemeth of verie good availe, and friendes to maister *Hal* in this case, yet (good Sir *Henrie*) you shall have it, refuse it not, take in good part part and glorie that your well doings deserves and hath thanks, not for benefit growen of your good motions, but for the rote of vertue joyned with gentlemanlie minde, whiche not in this only but in manie other actions layes open to the worlde, and therfore needles for me to repeate: I leave as I beganne, wishing you all prosperity.

I KNOW you have ere this expected my ordinarie letters, whiche are to you into *Italie* from me out of *England* the remembrers, and I hope preservers of our olde acquaintance, I measure you by my selfe, for I am most glad to reade his friendly lines, whose presence, if I might, I woulde more willinglie imbrace. You may not misdeeme for that I wrote not to you this last moneth: so it is that since my last being with you in *Italie* and els where, at whiche tyme, I desired to make my selfe acquainted with the state of forayne countries, I have sought as well to learne what the horse meanes, as the carte: that is, in my returne, I supposed I knewe all, bycause I had seene more than my neighbours, but finding myne owne weaknesse, being questioned withall of mere *Englande,* wherein for wante of experience, I coulde not answere, I found I had begon at the wrong ende. I ranne to gaze upon *Fraunce* and knew not *Kent:* I vewed *Spayne,* and never was in *Devonshyre:* exactly (as I thought) I judged of *Italie,* and never traveyled *Wales:* I came home by large *Germanie,* wherein I supposed I had a pretie sight, and yet not able to wade with you how the poore kingdome of *Man* is sited. And as I was ignorant of the seate of this lande, so was I further to seeke in the auncient rytes and usuall government thereof. Which considered, and finding my self a member of that body, I sought to mende my wante, and to beginne to take a better course, rather late than never: wherefore I have since my arrivall here, endevoured my selfe to understand mine owne countrie: and my Father your well wisher, as you know, advised me at my home comming, to be content rather to learne than teache, to be more willing to heare than speake, and that (quoth he) you shall well finde, that young men stande better for the most parte in their owne conceytes than there is cause. I am a member of the grave, great, and considerate Councell of the Parliament, the whiche my roome, I will labour you shall have this next Sessions (if God so please) wherein what you shall finde, declare at your home comming. For wrastelers (quoth he) thinke themselves strong men, till they meete with theyr betters: good wits specially standing in their owne lightes, for affection sake, can abide no disputacion. Take the best and leave the worst, and you shall reape in fewe lines the travels of my olde yeares. Reade me this shorte advice, whiche here I give you, and with that retched me a small Booke of his owne hand writing, the copie whereof, I sende you herewith. All this some will thinke needelesse, as things not according to our usual advises. I so confesse, but bycause I mean to leave the occurrents dayly looked for, as newes, and to write to you of a case happened of late here, whiche tho it be of no great importance, beyng the action of meane and pryvate persons, yet twoo causes moves mee thereto, whiche are these: The first for that men willingly heare matters of those, with whome familiaritie and acquayntance hath bene: Nexte, bycause I have hearde it often spoken, that it is evill to belye the Devill, and that I see and heare suche untrueths spredde abroade, and also I muste needes say, of some, who know their woordes are wrongfully wrested, to the great prejudice of the credite of Master *Arthur Hall*, (whose companie at *Padoa*, the yeere 1568, you once were gladde of, and thought it a contented meeting, whiche happened in that towne betweene you two, I in companie, at *Antenors* tombe, where firste you had sight one of an other) is the seconde occasion, that I write of this matter, at this presente unto you. First assure your selfe, that what I deliver unto you, is most directly tolde, without leanyng eyther to the one side or to the other, for I have taken great observation in my collections, tho some perhappe will thinke, the matter deserves no suche travayle. To describe the man unto you, I thinke I neede not, your knowledge of him in *Italie*, can sufficiently judge what he was: then you may remembre, God hath done his parte on him, (as wee say in English) his capacitie, his sensible tongue at will to utter his mynde, no wante of audacitie, of sufficient courage, well disposed to liberalitie, lovyng and sure to his friende, secrete where he is trusted, and I have founde hym to have greate care of his worde, not wholly unlearned, with a smacke of the knowledge of diverse tongues: the inclination of the good partes whiche do budde in hym, I may not omitte, and so lykewise not forget the taches of his mother *Eve*, which I find in him, whiche are these: Overweenyng of himselfe, whiche brings many infirmities to the persone whiche is infected with that canker, furious when he is contraried, without pacience to take tyme to judge or doubte the daunger of the sequele, as your selfe is witnesse of his dealings at *Rome*, at *Florence*, in the way betweene that and *Bollonia*, and at *Bollania* it selfe, the yeere above named; so implacable if he conceyve an injurie, as *Sylla* will rather be pleased with *Marius*, than he with his equals, in a maner for offences growne of tryfles. But herein I have tolde hym my opinion, whiche is, that sithe he will leane so muche to his owne inclination, that God will sende a shrewde Cowe shorte hornes, whiche hetherto he hath done to hym. Also spending more tyme in sportes, and following the same, than is any way commendable, and the lesse, bycause, I warrant you, *Non friget ludus*, for it is, *sine lucro:* the summes be great are dealte for. Thus much for the firste persone of this Tragedie. Now as touching the other, whiche was Master *Melchisedech Mallerie*, I neede spende no great time aboute him, and that for two causes, one, for that you knew him in *Flanders* of late time, as I could put you in remembraunce by good tokens if I woulde: The other, for as much as God hath taken him, and therefore, as *De absentibus nil nisi bonum*, so, *De mortuis nil nisi optimum*, he was (as you know) of a good spryte, ready tongue, in audacitie forwarde, what else he was disposed to is needelesse, for the causes before recited, as I have partly sayd before. Some wise men will mervayle, if this come to their handes, that I spende my time, to wryte to you so long a treatise of so small a matter, as of the unkindnesse or quarell of two so meane Gentlemen, and therefore thinke I have little to do, or lesse witte. I have mervayled oft what the wryters meant, to put to our readings the *Rounde table knights, Bevis of Hampton,* the *Knight of the Swanne, the foure sonnes of Amon, Amadis, Orlando furioso, Esplandion il Cavalleire del sole, Valentine* and *Orson the Greekes, Olgarden the Dane,* and a thousand more such tryfling Fables, yet do I see many men of judgement read them, some for the tongue, and some for the matter, reape benefite of both: likewise I may not so wholly condemne this my travell, wherein onely truth is reported, and (*Durus est sermo,* some will thinke) assuredly no falsifying of any matter of substance, neither is my conscience *in minimis,* but as casually men may fault: but that a man may profite himselfe in one of the two partes, that is, for the matter, whiche if he well consider, he shall finde more then perhap is looked for in so simple a Title: there is not so evill a floure but the Bee may gather honey of it. Who so desires to be delighted with Eloquence, let him spend his time in other store houses, for here he shall but loose his labour. If you will keepe to your selfe this Letter, or rather missive Pamphlet, I shall be assured to avoyde the diverse verdites of manyfolde judgements, and I am well pleased that you deeme thereof as best shall like you. See the fruyte of play.

In the yere 1573, there was one Robert Phillipson, who, in Lothbery in London kepte a table of twelve pence a meal for gentlemen, where, the 16th of December the same yere, M. *Hall,* M. *Mallerie,* M. Edward Cordall, M. Waterhouse, myself, and diverse honest marchants of the towne supped, supper ended, the dice was throwen on the borde, who must pleasure the good man of the house by paying the boxe, and displease the whole companie, by occasions, daylye falling out, as cousyn Germaines joined in consanguinitye to so good an exercise: the sporte lasted not the throwing oute of every bodyes hande aboute the board, (and yet all the companye dyd not playe) but M. *Mallerie* gave the lye with harde wordes in heate to one of the players, who either for quietnesse sake, or for other cause, made small replye; whereuppon M. *Mallerie* followed as he began: I canne yeeld you no reason, neither yet if I could would I, for I am reporter now of the truth in all partes, and not a declarer of my opinion as a judge. M. *Hall* seemed to take the matter in hand, a thanklesse office (for speaking before hee was feed) and sayde, I marvaile, M. *Mallerie*, that where there is suche company, which seeme honest, you will to the prejudice of their small reputations use such unseemly words. *Mallerie* made challenge that he would say so, who so ever durst be his contrary. Wherupon *Hall* tickled, sware (as he will not sticke to lende you an othe or two) that for hys gallant challenge, it were a good deede, (being no greater a man, for he was but little as you know) to throw him oute at the window. Here *Etna* smoked, daggers were a drawing; one rose from his place, the other walked up and downe, they woulde have gone together, but as God would they went not; the goodman lamented the case, for the slaunder, that a quarell should be in his house; the rest of the company wished quietnesse; and, for my parte, I found the parties themselves reasonably well disposed to friendshippe. The matter was ended for this fitte, with commemoration, how well one loved an other: as many times of evil beginnings comes worse ends: so now againe on the other side, honest and friendly dealings well ment settes the towe on fire, for in Februarye following, Master Rich. Drake, a gentleman well bearing himselfe alwayes, then attending upon my L. of Leicester, but now the Queenes Majestyes servaunte in ordinarye, advised M. *Hall* as his friende, to take heede to himselfe in playe, forasmuch as he had some waies understoode of indirect dealings touching the same: and specially for the giving signes of hys game at Mawe, a play at cardes growne out of the country, from the meanest, into credite at the courte with the greatest. *Hall*, toke his friendship in good parte, as he had good cause, and craved withal to shewe whom he mistrusted, who, as one not making tales on his fingers endes, named *Melchisedeck Mallerie*, as a man to be doubted of. In truth, quoth *Hall*, yesternight he trode on my foote, I being at Mawe at Mistresse Arundels, the old and honorable ordinary table, as I may terme it of England; but what he ment thereby I know not, I thinke no evil.

The eight of March after, there was at supper at one John Crokes, who kept an ordinary table in White crosse streate of twelve pence a meale, Maister William Daunsey, Maister Drake before named, Maister Nicholas Gorge, Maister Fraunces Woodhouse,

M. *Hall*, M. *Mallerie*, and one or two marchauntes: some of them had bin at one sporte, some at an other, as I hearde themselves report, and some shewed openly what cunning might be used at play; in the talking whereof I met them coming out of the dore about ten of the clocke at night. *Hall* being passed not above twenty yardes before the rest in the streate homewardes to his lodging, discoursing one with another of the premisses. Master Drake detesting such ungentlemanly shifts, began to condemne such practises, and withal recited what reports went of some (not naming any) who kept company with the usual best gentlemen in the town, condemning their degenerate kind (professing themselves of the breede) in yeelding to so base, so abject, and shamelesse an occupation, as to take the worst parte of all parts of the play in hand, which was, to give by secrete signes notice of his cardes and playe, whose good meaning would have truste a horsekeper with a greater matter. At these wordes, or such like, M. *Mallerie* replyed, and sayd, that it were good he were known that used such lewde practises: why, quoth Master Drake, you are suspected to be one of the number. With bye words he denied it, desiring where, how, and of whom, he had bin so touched. In generalitie, Maister Drake told him the opinion of many, his own judgment, and withal, *hinc illæ lachrimæ*, Maister *Halls* speeches to him here before recited; yet that he had small cause to deeme evil of him, forasmuch as he had delivered them in so good sort as he did. Two days after, being the tenth of March, *Mallerie* came to *Hall* in Poules, and within my hearing charged him very hotely, that he had reported him too be a cousiner of folkes at Mawe. *Halls* answeere was this (Maister George Freuel a gentleman of my Lord of Sussex being by), M. *Mallerie* I never sayde so, beleve mee, for I desire not to have to do in your causes, in any respect. I went to Toyes shoppe, a stationer at the sign of the Helmet, supposing this matter had bin ended, where I sawe togyther *Hall, Mallerye*, Freuel, and as it were with them, Maister Robert Audeley, a gentleman and fellow to maister Freuel, perceiving them to cluster togither like John Grayes birde, *ut dicitur*, who always loved company. I inclined to understande some more of the matter. *Mallerie* vouched that Drake woulde verifie, that *Hall* had saide as much as hee had charged him with in Poules, wherewith M. *Hall* tolde him that he was assured so much of Master Drakes honesty, as he would never do it; also that he desired *Mallerie* to choose some body else out, to shew himselfe on, rather than on him, for that he desired quietnesse, and of all men would have no question with him, as one from whom he could purchase no reputation. The same afternoone it was my chance to be at John Crokes, where there is a bowling alley of the half bowle, whether doth repaire many Merchants and sundry gentlemen, and in a Chamber above divers were at play: there was standing by M. *Hall*, Maister Drake, Maister Richarde Rich, M. *Mallerie*, and four or five Londoners. *Mallerie* called *Hall* aside, tolde that now Maister Drake was there, who would to his face affirme what he had given out to him of his worde in Poules. They two wente to him: he tolde *Mallerie* he had done him and M. *Hall* wrong, for he never reported *Halls* speeches in such sort, neither could justly do; but that M. *Hall* did not only give judgment of him in evil part, but rather semed to excuse, or at the least leave in suspence the evil conceived opinion of him. M. *Hall* was patient, though M. *Mallerie* were hoate, and wente his wayes, not seeming to heare harde wordes which *Mallerie* sent after him. So temperate an end was much marvelled at of manye, and M. *Hall* being demaunded what he meant by so much suffraunce, answered, he was forced to be quiet; for, as I understode after, he was then bound to the peace in no small summes for troubles in his owne shire, wherewith I have nothing to doe, it touches not thys matter.

Tyl the last of June, 1574, following, nothing happened that I can learne, worth the registering, betweene the parties, but evil wordes in corners one of another, small to the reputation of him whom they were reported of, and less to him who was the reporter. The same day at one Wormes who kept a table beside Fleete bridge, in the late house of courtely and curteous Gilbert Walker, at dinner time, being there present my lord Cromewel, M. Thomas Farmer, Master Finchame, Master Boother, M. Sidnam, Master Thomas Fisher, and others, M. *Mallerie* verye warmely beganne to play with M. *Hall* (if such rough pastime may be counted play) reporting him to be a knave, a foole, and a boy, and Maister Farmer (like himselfe) hearing these wordes, sayde, hee mervayled that *Hall* should be such a man, hardly beleeving the same, bycause hee knewe him as well as any other present. *Mallerie* followed againe and prayed him to deliver to *Hall* hys wordes, for (quoth he) a knave he is in denying his wordes he uttered of mee to Drake: a foole, for that the last Parliamente he used in the house such speeches, as he craved pardon, with protestation, abandoning them, and confessing his folly: a boy, for that he durst not goe into the fielde with mee. Maister Finchame, much misliking such extraordinary table talke, and that of one absent, tho Maister Farmer were appointed to do *Malleries* message, yet did hee determine to give M. *Hall* knowledge of the same, and comming into Poules, met wyth hym walking there, to whom he declared the fore recited speeches of *Mallerie*, wherewith *Hall* fetching as it were a great grone, sayd, Maister Finchame I am greatly beholding unto you, for this your curtesie, and wherein I am able you shall finde me ready to pleasure you. But what an unhappy man am I, to have any question with such a one as he is, whose companye I have alwaies (as I might) avoyded, what injury is this to be thus spoken of, in open place, where I am not to answere? but be you, wyth indifferent eares judge, what unkinde dealing this is. As for the first part, wherein he charges mee to be a knave, for reporting him untruly to maister Drake, and then denying the same: I have witnesse enough how Drake himselfe did in all pointes discharge me to his face, of all sinister dealings therein. For that I am a foole, for matters paste in Parliament, I meane no disputations, you have hearde enough thereof. But howe fondlye so ever I did behave my selfe there, I suppose it not a fit communication for an ordinary table. A boy forsooth I am, for so it pleaseth M. *Mallerie* to terme me, for not accepting his offer, to deale in quarell wyth hym. Assuredly on my fidelity hee never himself or by other moved any such thing to me, if he had I would have kept my selfe from the same: I trust you take it not for feare: but if any gentlemanne of accompte will accepte the quarell, I will so deale as belongs to mee, or else confesse M. *Mallerie* hath well reported: so ending with thankes to Maister Finchame, they departed. M. *Halls* stomacke beganne to boyle, as some cause he had, and more if all had beene true, and presently he wente to Maister Farmers lodging, whiche was harde by Worms, desirous to enquire more exactly of the matter, tho Maister Finchams honestie and credite is suche, as no doubt were to be made of his report in a farre greater cause. Not finding Master Farmer, he went into Wormes, desirous either to meete with him or M. *Mallerie*, the one for small good will, the other for friendship. In the dyning roome he founde maister Edwarde Gryvell, and maister Butcher, and saluting them, he demaunded for Farmer, thoughe hys errand were as muche to *Mallerie:* they made answere he had bin there, but now was gone: wherewith maister *Hall* spying throwe the glasse window, my Lord Souche, talking with another, and supposing it hadde bene M. *Mallerie*, in some hast went into the cockpitte yarde too him, and seeing my Lorde putting off his cappe, lefte him, and still restlesse in his minde, he retournes to Poules, where hee meetes Maister Farmer, of whom he receives as much as Maister Fincham delivered, and so much more, as it is straunge that any man should have the disposition to utter: At Maister Frauncis Woodehouse, lying in Charter house Churcheyarde, at a lodging of my Lorde Pagettes, there mette that nyght at supper maister George Cheworth, maister Farmer, maister Fincham, and maister Roberte Bale, where *Malleries* wordes were againe recited. Supper ended, *Hall* went forthe in some soddaine, being required earnestlye to tarye, but hee promising partly to retourne, departed, and finding three of his men at the dore, (as in very deede he hathe kepte more than his abilitie, as it is thoughte is able) thoughe he had more in the Towne, who were slacker in attendaunce: with them (whose names were Edward Smalley, John Nicholas, and Henry Woodward) he went to Wormes, and found in the place, Maister Butcher, Maister Fisher, and others, and at tables M. *Mallerie* playing wyth Mayster John Spenser, sonne and heire to sir John Spenser, and drawing his dagger, mente (as he saith) to have stroke M. *Mallerie* therewith on the face, thoughe his backe were towarde him, *Mallerie* havying a glaunce of hys hande, bowed downe hys heade crying oute, wherewith M. *Hall* beeing readye to have followed wyth an other blowe, he was helde, the house growyng full, as with my Lorde Souche, many Gentlemen and other, by the noise of the struggeling, and *Malleries* crye, in whiche time so recovering hymselfe, drue his dagger, and mighte as easilie have slayne M. *Hall* beeing in handes as hee hadde pleased: but what was his staye God onelye knowes. M. *Hall* seeing himselfe in this daunger, and his dagger also in that moment wrested out of his handes, wyth greate furie saide, will you holde me, while I am murdered: with that his three men, not knowing any part of the quarrel came in, of the which John Nicholas, having his dagger drawen, stroke over his Maisters head to have hit *Mallerie:* and hee stouping downe before M. *Hall*, scaped the blowe, saving a small cut in the backe part of his skull, with the pointe, the hilte light on his Maisters pate, and with the part of the blade next the same, cutte his forehead. M. *Mallerie* would have runne out of the doore, but Woodward having his sword drawen, and knew not whom to strike, made him doubt. The bloud fell fast in M. *Halls* eyes, so that with the company, and the wound he was quiet, yet wiping the same out as fast as he could, he had a sight of M. *Mallerie*, and taking one of his mens daggers from them, was pressing to *Mallerie*, who with a great shreke, ranne with all speede out of the doores, up a paire of Stayres, and there alofte used moste harde wordes againste M. *Hall*, as are before recited, moreover avouching he was a traytor, and indeede left nothing out, which might almost be to the prejudice of any honest mans good fame, and that in the hearing of Sir John Conway, Worme the good man of the house and others. My lord Souche used some hote speeche to M. *Hall*, as hee was a dressing, for that he used such disquietnes in his lodging, but sir John Conway did very worshipfully satisfie my Lorde, so that no matter grew thereof. Among the reste I remember, that M. *Hall* smarting in being drest, advised the surgion to use him well, saying he was beholding to his hornes, that the wound was not greate: there was that remembered, the olde proverbe, that it was not good jesting with edge tooles. The next day being the firste of July, M. *Mallerie* was at dinner at Wormes, and therefore his hurt was not very great, where maister Fincham was &c. there he gave it out, that he carryed a revenging mind, and would be revenged on Maister *Hall,* if he could take him at any advantage. To veryfie such meaning, Master Edward Randal of London sente M. *Hall* worde, that M. *Mallerie* hadde affirmed, that he would shew him an *Italian* tricke, intending therby to do him some secret and unlooked for mischiefe. Til the sixth of this month M. *Hall* lay at Maister Frauncis Woodhouse his house, not being fit to go abroade for his hurte, but with a mufle in maner halfe over his face, yet upon busines he had in the countrie of Lincolneshire where he dwels, he toke hys jorney thitherward the same day, hiring post horses, and taking with him one Roger Moore, servant to master Woodhouse, who was very fit and in a maner acquainted with the dressing of such hurts as M. *Halls* was. In his absence M. *Mallerie* reported, that he was gone out of the towne disguised, toke none of his owne men with him bycause he wolde not be knowne, howe hymselfe lay to meete him by the waye (as indeede he did) and mist the knowledge of him, and in diverse open places offred ten pounde to any man could bring him into the fielde, that hee might try the cause.

The 22d of July M. *Hall* came to London, where he hadde knowledge of many of M. *Malleries* defamations of him, yet the time so served for it, it had pleased their noble good mindes, my lords the Erle of Sussex, and Leicester, to accept in matching at shooting M. *Hall,* that he directed himself to attend on their honors the time of the progresse, to perfourme the matches set downe betweene them, and therefore with as much speede as he could he dispatched his businesse to the purpose, which sooner he had done, wyth fulfilling of his duty, if his forehead had bin full hoale. The second of August he went to the Courtward, and at Sudley, the house of the Lord Shaundoys late disceased (now the old Ladies joynture,) he found her majestie, and so remained, til her highnesse came to Winchester, where leaving the courte the 14th of September, he came to his own home into the country. At Mychelmasse terme following he came up to London, and so continued, M. *Mallerie* and he many times in sight one of another, and no harme done: but *fatum* is *inevitabile,* else Troy perhaps had stoode, so it might have bin this stage shewe had not made so many laugh.

Of all dayes in the yeare it was the 29th of November, M. *Hall* dyned at James Lumelies in Bishops gate streate, the son as it is sayde of old M. Dominicke, borne at Genoa, of the losse of whose nose there goes divers tales, but tho he wanted a piece there, he wanted nether honesty, nor sensible good judgement. And comming by master Arundels (lying in his way to his lodging, for the men who owe money in Cheapside like not alwaies to be pluckte by the sleve, and therefore toke Sainte Martines the next way from Bishops gate to Pater noster Row), he found at dice master Anthony Rush, master Drake, master Jasper More, master Benjamin Hanam, and master Rich. Greene, and fell to do as the rest: having tryed the pastime a while together, master Drake left, the rest continued, in which time came M. *Mallerie* uppe, and pressed near M. *Hall* who was throwing the dice, who seing his hautie gate and countenance, pluckt off his gowne from his right arme, having a short gowne of velvet on, and threw his chaunce out. *Mallerie* went thorow the rowme out of the upper dore, as he had to do with some Gentleman in his chamber in the house, wherewith Maister Drake came to *Hall*, and sayde, you stande in doubte of him, he answered no, but least he strike when I am otherwise occupied: quoth he, tende your play, mistrust not that, I will mind him. He had no sooner spoken the worde, but *Mallerie* returned, *Hall* styll throwing the dyce, and with his hande on his dagger pressed forward, Master Drake, stoode betweene them both, whiche *Mallerie* perceyving, or whether he woulde not disquiet the companie, went to the ende of the borde, it being square, and used the same behaviour, and then with the countenance he entred the house, he departed. M. *Hall* as soone as he had ended his throw, left play, and commyng into the hall, met Smalley his man, to whom he saide, Jesus can you not knocke the boyes head and the wall together, sith he runnes a bragging thus? Smalley made answere he had not seene him: with this John Nicholas who had hurte *Hall* his Master, as you have heard, began somewhat to be sorry that he had not done as much as was spoken of, and swore he should have it. Whereupon M. *Hall* charged them in any case not to hurte him with any weapon, but if he sought any matter, to cuffe him aboute the eares, saying, for the rest I my selfe will take order. To Powels M. *Hall* comes, finding in the Churche M. Roger Townesende, M. Thomas Farmer, and Master Fraunсis Woodhouse, with whom walking, he declared M. *Malleries* behaviour, at Arundels, in the midst of whose speech *Mallerie* entered the Church, and passing twice or thryse by *Hall*, with great lookes and extraordinarie rubbing him on the elbowes, with spurnyng three or foure times a Spaniel of M. Woodhouses following his maister and maister *Hall*, John Nicholas went out of the Churche at the weste dore, and so did a pretie while after him into the Churchyarde, M. Townesende, and M. Woodhouse, who both entred a booksellers shoppe, to looke on Bookes. M. *Mallerie* with his man after him, went out at the same dore. Nycholas spying *Mallerie* past him, hasted after, and ere he came to the two stoupes as ye goe to Ludgate, stept before him, wherwith *Mallerie* drew his rapier, and bad his man take him to his sworde and buckler, whiche both were done, Nycholas his sworde not yet being out: a fewe blowes they dealt togither, they two upon *Halls* man, who they put in such daunger, and might have done more, if they had well set themselves to it, as M. Townesende and Woodhouse were aboute to will some of their men to goe to his reskew: but at the instant, Edward Smalley drewe to his fellow, and strikyng at M. *Mallerie*, cut him downe the cheeke, and so the play was marde. Also after Smalley came one James Chamber, a servaunt of M. *Halls*, who likewise drew his sworde, and his Maister charging him therewith, he did proteste he did it to save M. *Mallerie* from more hurte, and to part the business. Smalley returnes into Poules, and laughing came to his Master, telling how he had given him a boyes marke, wherewith M. *Hall* was greatly offended, beshrewyng hym very earnestly. John Nycholas was taken by the Constable, and M. Hyggins the Scrivener being bound for him, he was delivered. After supper M. *Hall* came to Mistres Arundels, where Master George Scot toke him aside, and demaunded of him whether he were pryvie to M. *Malleries* hurte, he answeared of his fidelitie and credite no, but was more sorry for it: yet withall, that he had owed him a worse turne, but not to have bene in that sorte: yet, quoth he, what is done cannot be undone, therfore now it must be borne off with the head and shoulders: And that if any Gentleman will defend his cause, I will so answeare hym as shall be accepted of, and tho my men have done that which with all my hart I wishe undone, yet may I not refuse them, neither will: withall he told M. Scotte much of M. *Malleries* dealings to him, with offer to prove them by men of worship and credite, so that M. Scotte seemed satisfied, and very friendly advised M. *Hall* to take heede to himself, whom he greatly thanked for his good warning, tho he answered he mistrusted no harme. The first of December M. *Mallerie* for his hurt, had the advise of M. *Silva* a Piemontois, a practiser in Physicke and Surgerie, to whom he uttered such thondering speeches against M. *Hall*, and such heavie threates, that M. *Silva* mistrusted some great consequent would follow, and being very often with the L. Katherine Dutchesse of Suffolke, where diverse of M. *Halls* name and kindred be many times conversant, and some attendant on hir, as a bountyfull wel wisher to the whole family, declared to hir the danger he conceyved was contrived against M. *Hall:* she very honorably gave him notice thereof, yet in part did condemne the hurting of M. *Mallerie*, for that some untruthes touching the same, had sounded in hir eares. The third of December M. *Hall* late in the evenyng being at M. Howes house a goldsmith in Cheapeside, and his men attending at the dore, Smalley was arrested at M. *Malleries* suyte of an action of the case, the damages a thousand markes, for his hurt: his Master desired M. Henry Gilbert, a Goldsmith next by, and M. How to stande bounde for him, which most willingly they did as persones to whome not onely at this time but at all other occasions M. *Hall* had greatly bene beholding. During this pastime, M. *Hall* had great warning to have respect to himself, and wheras he was oft to passe betweene London and his house in the Countrie, the 4th of December M. Drake very friendly told him he had heard speeches, which were, that he should hardly recover his owne home when he should returne, for such as lay in the way for him. The next day after M. William Hill, and one Walter servant to Worme, gave M. *Hall* to understand how M. *Mallerie* had with great protestation vowed to slay him. Tho these partes must needes be disquietnesse to the persone of whose death so many determinations were given out, yet surely I found M. *Hall* made vertue of necessitie, what soever he thought, he shewed he bare the matter light.

The 18th of December the Courte being at Hampton, maister *Hall* supt at maister Comptrollers, Sir James Croftes, then and now holding the office, where was my L. Talbote, my L. Northe, Sir Henry Sidney now Lord deputie of Irelande, M. Gilbert Talbot, M. Henry Grey, and M. Thomas Cornwallis, with others, as my selfe &c. After supper the Comptroller and the Lordes going to the presence, M. Cornwallis in the court where the Conduyte standes, called M. *Hall*, and desired to speake with him. I remember the time well, for I walked by, attending M. *Hall* with whome I had then somewhat to do: M. Cornwallis tolde him how *Frauncis Mallerie* a brother of M. *Malleries*, had bene at the Court, and there with open mouth so exclaimed of the misusing of his brother, as M. Cornwallis himselfe seemed to mislike M. *Hall* for some wantes layed to him, as that he durst not go into the fielde with *Mallerie* his contrarie, how he set his men to hurt him, and durst not do it him selfe, how shamefully he was overmatched and striken behinde: and this did not onely M. Cornwallis conceive against M. *Hall*, but many of the best stoode now in suspence (by this meanes) of theyr judgement of him, of whom heretofore they never made doubt. M. *Hall* openeth the matter to M. Cornwallis, and withall what he durst do, they were both as it pleased him to beleeve them, but I thinke he departed better satisfied. The next day after, Sir Jerome Bowes hearing all places ring how M. *Hall* should die the death, gave him warning carefully to looke to himselfe. The 28th day M. John Wotton gave M. *Hall* notice that *Francis Mallerie* and his brother had it in talke, with secrete fire in his lodging to be revenged on him. The 23d of the same moneth M. *Hall* went out of London, and safely came to Grantham to his house. The 22d of Januarie he returned to London, and the 26th of the same worde was brought him, that M. *Mallerie* had caused Edward Smalley, John Nicholas, and James Chambers, at New gate Sessions to be indited for drawing theyr swoordes in the Churchyarde on him, the law being that therefore they should lose their eares. The 24th of the same moneth M. *Mallerie* supte at the Popes head in Lomberd streat, where were M. Cotton and other Gentlemen, and many marchantes of the towne, as Thomas Wilforde, Richarde Smith, Henry Sherland and other: he began to fall to his old byas, with lyke wordes as you have hearde heretofore, alledging he had heard *Hall* was perjured, but he would not say he was a perjured knave, with speeches as some seemed soundly to herken to, so M. Wilforde as one not forgetting (tho now professing merchandise) that he came from the bloud of gentrie, coulde not allow of such ungentlemanly wrongs, and therefore very roughly replied against M. *Mallerie*, a part more commendable than common, among men of his Cote, who I have found oftener readier rashly to beleeve evill reportes of a Gentleman, than deliberating indifferently to judge of the truth. The 30th of the same moneth M. *Hall* was dryven to trudge to stay the proceeding against his men, for theyr inditement, for M. *Mallerie* followed it with hoate suyte: he repayred to the court to my L. of Leicester, to whom he reported the daunger his man stode at, and craved his letter to M. Fleetewood the Recorder of London, that favour might be shewed therein, the case being very harde, the whiche my Lorde most honorably and willingly performed, and thereby the matter was a while stayed. The 6th of February M. *Hall* arrested M. *Mallerie* upon the action of the Case, for his slaunderous reportes, and *Mallerie* having aboute him a pocket dag charged, delivered the same closely to one Warde a Sergeant. Smalley the next day hearing hereof, came to his Master with the newes, who presently resorted to the Counter in Woodstreate to the sayde Warde, and moste earnestly and courteously desired to see the dagge, whiche at the first he denied he had, but the standers by vouchyng the contrary to him, dogge fashion he consented, but answered he would not shew it. M. *Hall*, went to Anthonie Gamadge, an occupier of linnen clothe, then Sheryfe of London, finding hym in his shoppe in Cheapeside by the ende of Soper lane, to whome he declared that M. *Mallerie* carried dagges in his hose to murder him, as himselfe did report: how M. John Wottons man two dayes past sent him worde that *Mallerie* had watched him in the night diverse times to mischiefe him, how Warde the sergeant had the dagge yet charged delivered him yesterday by M. *Mallerie*. With much ado Gamadge sent for Warde, (I Maister him not, bycause in Norfolke I know his pedigree) who brought him the dagge: him selfe found it charged. M. *Hall* desired some order might be taken therein, I think in my conscience rather to have *Mallerie* troubled, than for any feare he had of the matter, but all was one, for he had a colde answere of our London Sheryfe, yet suche a one as he must be contented with.

The 21st of February M. *Hall* was at Guyldhall to see the end of *Malleries* action agaynst Smalley, and with him M. Roger Townesende, M. Fraunčis Woodhouse, and diverse others, till which time M. *Mallerie* had deferd for the triall, because he would have the Jurie fall in that parte of Cheapside, where his father did before his death dwell, for so is the maner of the Juries in London, that they serve by turnes, yet the number not being full, it was for this time dashed. The nexte day againe they came thether: M. *Mallerie* brought for his counsell Mr. Bromley the Q. Solyciter, M. Weeks, and M. Fuller: and Smalley had for him, M. Daniell, M. Maltas, and M. Kitchin: the issue was *Quod transgressio per Edwardum Smaley facta fuit ex injuria propria*, whiche he did denie it read as the maner is to the Jurie appearing and called good men and true, as M. Cryer sayde: M. Fuller firste began to speake to the matter, and very earnestly charged M. *Hall* with malicious and implacable dealyng, with such a desire of his owne will to be satisfied, as he cared not for the casting away of five hundred poundes if he might purchase the same: howe he came to Wormes, how he hurte M. *Mallerie*, how still he followed the revenge with an Italian mynde learned at *Rome* (altho M. Fuller never came in *Italie* and less at *Rome*, neyther yet was ever acquaynted with M. *Hall*, and therefore as blinde men be to be borne withal if they committe an errour, so M. Fuller speakyng for his clyent is not wholly to be condemned), tho M. *Hall* was never named in the *Nisi prius*, neyther touched in the recordes: M. Recorder advised M. Fuller to go to the matter and not to tarie upon the declaration of *Halls* disposition. After Fuller followed M. Solicyter, not with vaine speeches, and as very learnedly, so no lesse gravely aud discretely: then were deposed for M. *Mallerie* in his behalfe, his owne Servant, and one Thomas Hewes: his man alledged that three of M. *Halls* men were upon him and his Master, how Nicholas drew first. Hewes coulde say little, but that he sawe them togither and M. *Mallerie* hurt. Eglestone a Goldsmith also being sworne, affirmed he sawe three men upon his Cousin *Malleries* man (for so he called him) and his Cousins cheeke hurte and lying on his shoulder. Of the contrarie parte were sworne two honest and worshipful Gentlemen, who stood by and advisedly marked the whole fraye, M. Roger Townsende, and M. Frauncis Woodhouse afore named: theyr free hold which in the common Law of England is in such cases much respected, is large, and yet not so large, as their credites for theyr upright dealings, whiche among all men is in othes to be most accompted of: they avouched that as soone as John Nicholas M. *Halls* man had passed M. *Mallerie*, that he drew his rapier and dagger, and bad his man draw his sworde, before Nicholas had his weapon out, and that they dealt certaine blowes togither before Smalley came in, and that with such daunger to Nicholas, as they themselves loked he should have bene mischieved. Further of *Malleries* hard usage of *Hall* as is recited before, the Councell argued the matter to the Jurie, who went togither, and M. *Hall* and the rest to dinner to the Horse head in Cheapside, where there dyned M. Townesend, M. Woodhouse, M. Frauncis Leake, M. Drake, John Crouke, and my selfe: at the sitting downe to dinner M. How the goldsmith came in, who had hearde the matter past in Guilde hall, saying he was afrayed the Jurie would give great damages: wherewith M. *Hall* demaunded with what conscience they could do it, if they considered theyr evidence, the manner of the acte, and the condition of the persons betweene whome the action depended: every man spake his judgement, not being of M. Howes opinion. In fine, they grew to particular summe, what would be awarded to M. *Mallerie*, and M. *Hall* gave Howe a Portegue, he to returne two for it if they condemned Smalley in lesse than sixty pounde, if above he to have it. This tyme M. *Mallerie* rested in Guylde hall, for two causes, one to see the sequele of his matter, the other he durst not come forth, understanding that M. *Hall* had layed to arrest him agayne for the action of the case of more wordes:

duryng whiche time Thier, the foreman of the Jurie came forth, enquyring for M. *Mallerie,* who was not found, for he had hid himself for fear of arrest: he then talked with *Richard Mallerie* his brother, walking with him in the hall, which one Guy toke exceptions too, bycause the verdite was not given up: Thier goes in againe to his fellowes, and presently they gave up theyr verdite, which was, Smalley must pay a hundred poundes for damages, and twelve-pence for costes. Guy brings this newes to M. *Hall* at the horse head, and with him M. Edwards the goodman of the house: whereat who rages now and takes the matter in dudgion but M. *Hall,* who exclaimes now of his trustie and well spoken of friends the Londoners, who now repents of the defences to his abilitie he hath made for them in all places, where any thing was spoken to theyr rebuke: who now condemned himself for standing so much in his owne conceyte, to beleeve well of theyr good willes to him and his: who now finds that the paying of xxv in the hundred in usurie, and more than is reason gayne in a yarde of silke or stuffe, did made hym have so many Caps, and fayre countenances but he? and yet must I needes confesse, that in all his choller and heate he acknowledged himselfe as much bounde to some Merchantes within the walles of London, as any Gentleman ever was, allowing many to be worshipfull, grave, and wise Cytizens. Well what will you have more? the kyll is a fire: the nexte day M. *Hall* gettes him to his footecloth, and trottes to Grayes Inne: there he desired M. Kitchin to shew M. Sergeant Lovelace who was at the reading in the hall, that he was desirous to speake with him about the businesse in hand, who understanding betweene whome it was, refused to be of Counsell therein, for that M. *Mallerie* had made him privie thereto before, and desired that he would be assistant to him: then to the Temple goes M. *Hall,* and confers with M. Anderson what now is best to do, beyng not so carefull to save the money his men shoulde pay, as desirous to Crosse M. *Mallerie,* and to make him recken therein without his host. M. Anderson did mervayle at the excessive damages that the Jurie founde, and advised that taynt to be used, whiche no way liked M. *Hall,* alledging that it was impossible to touche them with perjurie, who shoulde be tried by theyr neighbourly peeres, and that he coulde not finde any president in the lyke, whereby any hope was to be had: agreed it was, a writte of errour should be brought.

The 25th day M. Anderson came to Guildhall, there sitting Sir James Hawes then Mayor, Sir Lionell Ducket, Sir Rowland Hayward, and the Recorder, he alledged diverse poyntes wherein errour was committed, also the talking of the foreman Thier, with *Richard Mallerie,* wereupon judgement was stayed. The nexte day after, the Mayor, diverse of the Aldermen, and the Recorder sitting, M. Daniell and M. Kitchin moved the Court for stay of judgement, and so was it graunted till the firste day of the Terme following, with craving heede to be taken for amendment of the Recorde, whiche by M. Recorder, and M. Seabright the towne Clerke, was willingly and perfectly graunted. The firste of Marche M. *Mallerie* went to the Court, and used very harde reportes to my Lord Chamberlayne (then the Earle of Sussex, and now also,) of M. *Hall,* whose sounde and honorable judgement is not caryed away sodenly to deeme evill of any Gentleman with the affectioned minde of an adversarie. The nexte day after M. *Mallerie* went but to the hyest, opening his griefe to hyr Majestie howe lewdely he was hurte, how violently layed to, how unable to revenge the injurie offered him, how empoverished in purse, and damnified in person, moste humbly desiring hyr highness of Justice, and not to graunt hyr pardon to M. *Halls* men, who stoode indited as you have hearde: hyr Majesties answeare was, that he should have Justice, and that she never was hasty in pardoning, neyther neede he feare the same. This tale must he needes deliver also to my Lord Treasorer (my Lord Burley), to the whiche giving good eare, as his manner is to all suyters be they never so meane (no usuall thing to men in his place), he tolde M. *Mallerie* he was sorry if all were true he tolde him: and I surely thinke he woulde so have bene, for how tenderly he hath alwayes loved M. *Hall* in his youth being brought up in his house at Schole, how carefully he hath favored hym beyng his servaunt, and what bountie he hath used towarde hym, since he preferred him to hyr Majesties service, all the worlde knowes.

The 9th of May M. *Mallerie* arrested M. *Hall* in Westminster with a byll of Middlesexe for hurting hym at Wormes. The 18th of May 1575, at the Sessions at Newgate was M. *Mallerie* and his man indited upon the Statute, for drawing weapon in the Churchyarde. The 10th of June M. Sergiant Harper, and M. Sergiant Manhood, Justices of the common pleas, came downe into Guyldhall in London, where the recordes were redde, and found by Smalleys counsell to be amended. The 13th of the same moneth M. *Hall* went to M. Seabright the towne Clerke, and founde him selfe grieved for the mending of the Recorde, who made answeare that the Mayor with charging wordes, commaunded him to do that which he did, whiche was, that whereas there was no mention in the Recorde, that Smalley did appeere in the Mayors Court there, by himself or his atturney, that he should put in his appearance, for that forsooth M. Hodgeson, Smalleys Atturney, confessed he had receyved his fee therfore. The 22d of June the Judges came agayne to Guyldhall, and sat aboute the errours, appoynting the first Friday of the next Terme for the further proceeding in the matter. The 8th of September M. *Mallerie* died at the signe of the Antlop in Smithfielde, he forgave M. *Hall*, yet with confession that if he had lived, he would have bene revenged: he departed well leanyng to the olde Father of Rome, a dad whome I have heard some say M. *Hall* doth not hate. In November following William Huyt the servant of M. *Andrew Mallerie*, taking the administration of M. *Melchisedech Malleries* goodes and cattels, by the advise of his Master, altho' *Francis Mallerie* and an other of the brothers were appoynted by the dead man, executors, sued the recognisance which was knowledged, for the following of the writ of error with effect. The 25th of Januarie M. Harper and M. Manhood came downe to Guildhal, and there according to the first verdite and judgement given by the Recorder, wherupon the writte of error was brought, they proceeded with the like, so that Smalley must pay 104 pound 2 shillings, the overplus of which summe, it being above a 100 pounds and 12 pence given by the Jurie at the first, was for charges. The judges appoynted that a warrant shoulde be made out, for the attaching of Smalley, it retornable 15 dayes after, during whiche time if he coulde not be mette with, Huyt should have out execution against the suerties, who were as you have heard M. Henry Gilbert, and M. Richard How, both very sufficient men for an other maner of summe. During this time wherein Smalley should be found, M. *Andrew Mallerie* with tooth and nayle followed the execution of the judgement, for drawing in the Churchyarde, meaning that if he coulde not prevayle therein, yet at the least he hoped that the terrour thereof would make Smalley absent himself, and so at the terme appointed for the attachment of him, there shoulde be returned a *non est inventus,* whiche was his desire, knowing very well that the suerties would make ready payment of the condemnation : for thus much you must take with you, altho' William Huyt servaunt to M. *Andrew Mallerie,* were the administrator of M. *Melchisedech Malleries* goodes and Chattels, yet was the matter wholly followed by M. *Mallerie.* The reason why Huyt tooke this office on him was, that the benefit of this money had, it should be payed over as best pleased the deceased *Malleries* brothers: for that I thinke his wealthe was not great nor hardly of sufficiencie to answere his debtes. The 4th of February M. *Hall* brought to the Towneclerke a *Cerciorare* out of the Kings bench to remove the Inditements of his men, wherby they were stayed till the next terme, intending that if there were a pardon at the Parliament, they would be dispensed with. M. *Hall* found M. Seabright very willing to do what he might by law, and accordingly dealt therin, not sending the Inditements up. The 7th day M. *Hall* sent Smalley and Chambers to the Counters to put in a *Caveat* that he was of the house, therefore that none of his men shoulde be arrested, and also wrote by Smalley to M. Onesley Clerke of the house, for a writte of priviledge for him, who returned answere he coulde not do it, till he were arrested: M. *Mallerie* on the other side for the Inditements, hastes the case so, that the former helpes may not serve, and for not performing the firste course taken, a fine of forty pound was set upon M. Seabright, wherefore a newe way muste be had. M. *Hall* hyes him to Grayes Inne and to the Temple, where the 8th of the same moneth by his counsell it was concluded to traverse the Inditements, and presently to put in the same, wherin was used speede enough, and so was this gappe stopt, and M. *Malleries* labour lost: during this Smalley had bene at the Counter diverse times, and demaunded whether there were any processe out against him, none was founde. The very same day the Parliament began, of the which M. *Hall* was a Burgesse for the towne of Grantham, whereof we have talked oft: the nexte day after, Smalley goes to Guildhall, and takes with him Mathew Kyrtleton his Masters Scholemaister, and then not seeming they were of knowledge one with an other, Smalley walked up and downe in the hall, and Kyrtleton goes to the ordinarie place where M. Mosley one of the Secondaries of the Counter sat, and sayd, if you have any processe against Edward Smalley, yonder he is, attache him, for I am M. *Malleries* friende: nothing was done in the cause, for in truthe, the warrant was not yet out. The nexte day beyng the laste day of the returne, and that by two a clocke, Smalley sent to the Counter, to heare of this warrant, all was whusht, at Westminster all the Courtes rysing, it was delivered by the yonger *Mallerie* to M. Mosley, who seying it retornable, in a manner within two houres after (quicke speede pretended or not to finde they looked for expected) sayed how may I do any thing with so small a warning? M. *Mallerie* answered, returne *non est inventus,* quoth he, that can I not do, for I see the partie every day before my face, well this man must be sought, who would be found, and that for two causes, one, some small hope he had, (tho' his learned counsell had tolde him the contrary, as M. Colbye, and some Judges of the Lawe) that the pryveledge of the Parliament woulde discharge him, if they would unadvisedly attache him: the second, beying greatly desirous to shewe himselfe honest towarde his sureties, knowing that he should not long lye in pryson, if his Maister were able to provide the money: aboute one a clocke he goes into the Counter in Woodstreat and demaundes againe after this warrant, where one of M. Mosleys men sayed, his Master would speake with him, he answered he would anone goe to him, Mosleys man comming out of the gate, called Grace a sergeant to him, and sayde, see you yonder yeman going in the redde hose with his fellow in the greene cloke? hee answered yea: will him (quoth hee) to go to my master, for thither he muste: Smalley told the Sergeant hee woulde willingly goe, and so they three (the third being James Chambers M. *Halls* man) went to M. Moslys house, where they comming before him, he thus began to Smalley or in such like wordes. What doest thou meane fellow, to rotte in pryson, and to lose thine eares? if my hap be such (quoth he) I may not do withal, I would not have my suerties troubled: wilt thou then (replyed Mosley) yeelde thyself prisoner, and discharge thy suerties? Chambers hastely answeared no, that he should not: whereat M. Mosley was offended, and therewith followed Smalley, and sayde, he would not so do. M. Mosley perswaded him to sue to *Mallerie* for agreement: he answeared, he had so done, and caused it to be broken to the Judges, and that they did make no ende: Mosley then commanded the Sergeant to the arrest, bidding him shew his mace, the Sergeant demaunded wherefore, M. Mosley gave him the warrant and read it, which done and Smalley arrested, Mosley tolde him he was now in a good case, to rotte in pryson and loose his eares: The Judges were this afternone to heare what was done touching the laste proceedings, and therefore Smalley as a prysoner was had to Guyldhall to attend the comming of them. M. *Hall* came also thether, and tolde Mosley, that he had done his man wrong to arrest him, he beying of the Parliament, who seeming sory therefore, excused himself by ignorance, and that hee would not have so done for I can not tell howe muche, if hee had had notyce thereof: M. *Hall* alledged that he had sente to the Counter to declare the same, one of his owne menne beyng in the office when it was done, and one Thomas Ulmes an officer also. He perswaded talke to be had betweene the *Malleries* and M. *Hall*, they beyng in the place, but greate harte would not suffer the parties to meete, for betweene curtesie who shoulde beginne, prowde menne looked one on an other, till the Judges came, who sette, the prysoner was brought in, M. Mosley declarying the exceptions *Hall* tooke that his man was arrested, and desired some ende, bycause he was lothe to have the matter brought in question in the house, confessing that Smalley did not willingly yeelde himselfe: the administratour was demaunded for by M. Harper, who not appearing, *Andrew Mallerie* answered, he had his Atturney, and himselfe was he. M. Harper asked whether he woulde take execution or no, breathing a whyle he sayde, if he shoulde refuse it he had no remedie, and therefore he must accept it. M. Manhoode moved some ende betweene the parties, alledging that the cause was motioned to them bothe before this, for that purpose: M. *Hall* sayde that he remayned the man he was, and did condiscende thereto, so that they woulde very shortly deale therein: M. *Mallerie* also agreed, provided that *Hall* shoulde not proceede touching the liberties of the Parliament in the meane tyme. The nexte day was appointed for the hearing, in Sergeants Inne in Chancerie Lane, of all matters touching this question, and were compromitted to M. Justice Harper, and M. Justice Manhood. Smalley tooke up his lodging in the Counter in Woodstreat: according to appoyntment, the parties mette in M. Sergeant Harpers chamber, *Andrew Mallerie* bringyng with him his brother Richard: where M. *Hall* laying for himselfe the excessive damages the Jurie gave, and the benefite of the Parliament whiche he meant to trie, withall the meane estate of his man, the partie also being dead, perswaded consideration to be had, and the inconsiderate largesse of the liberall Jurie, to be mitigated by the just and conscionable dome of so grave umpeers: M. *Andrew Mallerie* did aggravate the hurting of his brother, his often molestation by arrests, his charges in the suyte, the great delayes therein, the daunger Smalley and his fellowes stoode in for the Inditement, the advantage was had for the breach of the recognisance, not omitting the question might be made for the death of his brother, who died within a yeare after his hurt: many speeches paste what woulde be given and what accepted. M. *Hall* came to a hundred poundes, for the ending of all controversies, tho' for the death of *Mallerie* he made no reckening, neyther yet tooke any care for the Inditement. The Justices moved M. *Hall* to a hundred and twentie pounde, and woulde willingly have had him come to a hundred and ten pounde, which he refused, laying therfore that the whole condemnation was but a hundred & foure pound and two shillings. Thus time spent and nothing done: the Chamber court brake up, till the 25th. M *Hall* looked whether his offer would be accepted, and that morning brake the matter of arrest to M. Robert Bell the speaker, before he went in, who willed him to move the house thereof, which at his comming in he did. It was agreed he shoulde stay till the companie were full: shortly after M. *Hall* took this matter in hande, declaring as much of Smalleys arrest as you have hearde: wherewith it was ordered, that Grant the sergeant, and Huyt should come thyther before them the nexte morow: According to the same, the Sergeant attended, but the other not: M. *Hall* gave knowledge that the Sergeant was without, who being called in, he confessed he had arrested Smalley by Mosleys commaundement, declaring worde for worde the whole matter, at the counter, and in Mosleys house, as ye have hearde. There were appointed by the house, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir Owen Hopton, and Sergeant Lovelace, Committees to examine and searche out the whole dealings of the cause. After dinner, the two knightes came to Maister Lovelace his chamber in Chancerie lane at Sergeants Inne, the place apointed for the conference, wyth whome was also Maister *Hall*. The speaker sente to the Committees, praying them to come to his chamber, whiche they did in the Temple: there they founde hymselfe, Sir Wyllyam Winter, mayster Popham a Lawyer, and mayster Roberte Snagge: maister Mosley confessed hee had caused Smalley to bee arrested, and sayde nothing for himselfe, but that hee knewe not M. *Hall* to be of the house: it was answered him, he ought to take notice thereof hymselfe, it was proved there by Thomas Ulmes one of the Counter, that James Chambers had before the arrest given knowledge at the Counter of the same: Mosley forced muche that Smalley yielded himself, yet was it proved that he demaunding him the same question, hee aunswered he would not: bycause there was some speeche of cautelous dealyng in the matter, and that not wholy clearyng M. *Hall* to suche as are more curious to spye a moate in an other mans eye, than a greate blocke in their owne, and will not sticke to spende greate time to defame men with untruthes, and no pece of an houre to consider their owne wantes. M. *Hall* declared to the Committees howe hee hadde sente to the Counter worde of his beeing a member of Parliament, had caused Smalley to repaire with his letter to the Clerk of the house, for a writte of priviledge, howe after the arreste hee was content to put the matter to compromise, and offered a hundred poundes, where the whole condempnation was but 104 pounde two shillings, how six pound more had whusht all, how after hee staied from the 11th of the moneth, wherein no order was taken, till the 15th of the same, aspecting some good ende, and giving the *Malleries* tyme to breathe sufficiently: The Speaker and maister Lovelace verye desyrous the matter should be talked of againe the next daye, and the rather bycause the *Malleries* were not nowe there, but shoulde have warning against that time, and proofe should be made for agreement, tho unwillingly maister *Hall* agreed thereto. Accordingly in the Speakers chamber, (where met M. Hopton no more of the committees,) there were M. Popham, M. Dalton, and M. Ploden, who was no parliament man. Master *Andrew Mallerie* and his brother was moved to agreement: The speaker offeryng him fiftye pounde, but not hearing on that syde, with determination to declare to the house their doings the next morning, the company severed. In the morning in the voyd place before the Parliament dore, M. Hopton, M. Arnold, and M. Lovelace called M. *Mallerie* to them, who would have no lesse than a hundred pounds for the execution, and the other matters, to determine as law might: *Hall* would none of that, for the committees laboring in vaine, deferre the cause to the judgement of the house, yet such billes were in hand, as there was no convenient time to make the report. The 20th day M. Lovelace declared directly to the house their whole doing touching the arrest, wherupon M. *Hall* folowed, craving consideration of the cause, alledging that if the Queenes ordinarie servants, souldiors in garrison, men with protections granted from the Prince, had greate freedome from arrestes, whiche no man coulde denye, howe muche more shoulde the members of that house have priviledge? And whereas it was urged of some, that it was against lawe to deliver a man of an execution, and therefore the partie therein coulde not be delivered, but that the playntife shoulde be punished by imprisonment. *Hall* declared that that was no sufficient mendes, saying, that one might make a letter of atturney to an abject in respect of the arresting of divers knights and burgesses of the house upon statutes, which are executions of themselves, to which they must obey, leave their countrey unserved, and the worker thereof to bee imprisoned: a small penance for so greate a fault, no recoverie to the partie wronged by the offence, nor sufficient punishment to the carelesse preferrer of his own private profite before the whole and universall benefit of the Commonwealth. Maister Comptroller, sir James Crofte repugned *Halls* speeche. M. Recorder in verie auncient presidents, wherein he is well seen, having read much, stoode fast for the liberties of the house, maister Fraauncis Alford, master Sentpoole, master Benbrig, Maister Nidigate soundly followed on. (What moved him I know not, onless some report brought him, M. *Hall* should use of a neere mere frende of his, whiche as I have heard *Hall* protest most assuredly, he never thoughte of, so are they better overslipped than put in writing:) M. Speaker desired leave to shewe his opinion, which graunted, he advised the house to have regard to their doing, and not to proceede to the discharging of an execution against law, which if they should doe, the Judges would rule them over, which he shuld be loth to see. M. Bricket replyed to him, saying, that they were not to be ruled over by any in those cases, but others to be directed by them. The Speaker would have had the matter deferred, which would not be, then he moved, whether M. *Hall* should depart the house, bicause he seemed to be a partie, the most were of opinion yea, and so he went forth. The question was put whether Smalley should be delivered of his execution or no, the yea was the greater, yet must the house be devided, and so was it found. In the after noon M. *Hall* went to the Speaker to the Temple, with whome he found no body but one Hall his man: and among other talk, praying his man might be delivered, he told him that he mervailed that he dealt so extraordinarily against him, as to crave leave to speake in the prejudice of the priviledge: he seemed to be moved therwith, and said he had done no more than he might, which he would do, and that M. *Hall* did not well so to take exceptions to him: He aunswered, he had not seen the like before, and therfore toke it unkindlye. With this M. Bowyer the Sergeant came in, and bad M. Speakers man goe out. M. Speaker affirmed, that M. Lovelace had favorably reported the matter, and not as it was, whyche if it hadde faln out for him to do, the consequente woulde have ben otherwyse. In fine, he could take no order for the deliverance of Smalley, forasmuch as the manner how he should be discharged was not determined in the house; but advised Maister *Hall* to move the Parliament of it, and he should be heard, confessing that *Mallerie* for his wilfulnesse, hadde well deserved to lose his execution, if it had ben muche more, *Hall* offeryng hym so largely. The nexte day *Hall* called upon his mans busynesse: there were appointed maister Saint Poole, mayster Recorder, maister Sackford (maister of the Requestes), maister Bromley (Atturney of the Dutchie), and master Roberte Snagge, to meete at the Rolles in the after noone, and to make searche howe the judgement of the house shoulde be executed, whether by writte, or by the mace wyth the Sergeant. Accordingly maister Bromley made reporte of their travayle, alledging they coulde fynde no president, where any were delivered by writte uppon an execution, but uppon arrestes dyvers. It was agreed, the Speaker should directe a warraunt to my Lorde keeper of the great seale, Sir Nicholas Bacon, to make a writte for the enlarging of the prisoner, and that maister *Hall* should goe to my Lorde, and bee sworne, that Smalley was his man. After dinner, he attended at Suffolke place where my Lorde laye, of whome my Lorde demaunded what his mannes name was, who was in execution, *Hall* aunswered, Edward Smalley: the booke being held, my Lord asked hym whether he knewe Edwarde Smalley or no? which he did: whether he were his man or no? which he was: Howe long? Three or foure yeares: whether he was attached before the Sessions of the Parliament or since? Since was sworne? My Lorde very honorably used maister *Hall*, and bade him farewel, who presently repaired to the Speakers chamber at the Temple, whom he found at supper, and with him maister Sandes, mayster Norton, Parliament men, maister Onsley the Clerk, and and master Conisby: *Hall* told the Speaker he was sworn, wherupon he directed master Onsley to make a warrant to be sent to the Chancerie for the writ to discharge the arrest: Onsley required master *Hall* to send him a note of the proceedings therein, by the which he might the more particularly pen it. The notice given to the chancerie for this writ, *Hall* sent by James Chambers his servant to master Disters office, who denied he had any president in the like case, yet with him repaired to master Garth, also a Chauncerie officer, to whome this matter was french, not beeing acquainted at any tyme with the like, he sought out maister Couper, who durst not deale in so extraordinarie a cause. To my Lord keeper he goes, who answered he was not to receive messages from the house by any body but by the speaker, and willed that he should come to him. The next morning *Hall* made relation to maister Speaker, what had bin done, who determined to go to my lord himself at the rising of the house, and so he did. My Lorde desired certayne words more to be put in the warrant, which the speaker said he would put too in the after noone. The Speaker delivered Dister the warrant, which being broughte to my L. keeper, his lordship presently directed two letters, one to the Cursitaries of the Chancerie, and an other to the six Clerks. The 27th of the same month (for these actions from day to day, and dayly for the most part now continued) the Speaker declared to the whole house, what he had done, and the Clerkes of the Chaunceries answer to the L. keper, how there was no president to be founde among them in that case, wherewith *Hall* found himselfe grieved in his man's behalfe, saying, the Atturney of the Dutchie, who was a committee to searche the Recordes before, knew that well inough, and that the Speaker did determine that cause, wherby the delaye was greate: the Speaker replyed, and sayde, It was not well done so to charge hym: for he didde nothyng but what was determined by the house, which *Hall* denyed. Master Nidigate wished the liberties to be preserved. Sir Francis Knolles Treasorer of her Majesties housholde, maister Comptroller, and Sir Water Myldemay agreed as muche, yet advisyng recompense to bee hadde. Maister Popham and mayster Norton could not brooke that executions should be dispensed withall. Sir Henry Knevet unripped parte of maister *Malleries* behaviour to maister *Hall*, moving consideration to be thought on, for that *Mallerie* dydde touche *Hall*, for speeches in that house, as you have hearde before, a place not meete to be tabbered on by him at a common table, with unsemely wordes to misuse any member therof. Further for declaring *Hall* to be a traitor (an odious sporting) he had his harm: by means wherof, the debt and execution grew, himself deming that such outrageous behaviour was to be answered with greter force without recompence, than by so small a scratch with so great damages, and he could find no cause sufficient, to urge any consideration at all, the partie living, so much lesse, he dead, and the execution discharged by the judgement of the assembly. M. Digs, M. Rob. Benbrig, M. Francis Alford, and M. Tho. Saint Poole stood firme of this mind. M. Christopher Hatton captain of the Guard condescended to the rest for the deliverie of the prisoner, willing that six or eight should be chosen, wherof the house half, and *Hall* the rest (as M. *Hall* and divers other did conceive it) they to award the *Malleries* what they thought best, in lieu of the execution, discharge the sheriffs of London also, not to be burdened for any thing touching the same: *Hall* said he would first have his man at libertie, and then he wold do what he thought good. It was set down, the sheriffs of London should bring Smalley in the morning to the house, and then should be enlarged. The next day the Speaker let them understand, that the prisoner was without: wherupon M. Snag certified the assembly, that he being at the examination of the cause, with the committees, he found they had not made true report thereof, he desired that way might be taken to sift out such cautele as semed to him to be practised in the arrest by Smalley and others. M. Norton wold have recompence to be made, M. Alford, M. Nidigate and others were not of his opinion, M. Lovelace being a committee, and a reporter of their doings to the house, was answering M. Snag: which slander was after sufficiently refeld by M. Hopton, M. Arnold, and himself whose freehold for not true delivering of their dealings, was by him touched. But the Speaker would nedes first put two questions, (I know not by what rule, I am sure, neither I, nor those about me in the hither end of the house agreed thereto, for that we herd no motion made of them.) The first was, whether Smalley should be freed from the execution: the other, whether he should remain in the sergeants custodie after, till it were examined whether he yielded himself prisoner, and so abused the house: enlarged of the execution he must be, and continue with the sergeant till further deliberation. Accordingly he was brought to the barre, but not by the sheriffs, for they seemed too good to execute that office, two sergeants served the turne: and as you have heard it decreed, so was it done. M. Recorder ran harde on that string, that Smalley should yelde himself, that he should cautelously deale, and indirectly with that place, praying breathing in the matter, and tho they had passed in the cause, as is recited, yet they should not doubt upon good occasion to reverse the judgement they had past, producing a president hapned in a Parliament wherin he was, which fell out in a bill for the Vintners at London. It was so, that they labored for a statute to passe touching wines, whiche was to be read and argued in the after noon on the Saterday: Many of the Parliament were that day at dinner feasted by them. Their good chere ended, to counsell they goe: *Bacchus* spake in the parliament (as the sequele doth declare) for his ministers the Vintners: what more the law had free passage. It was but a daye betweene, as master Recorder said, a Monday morning they found a fault with their Saterdays after noone work, and made no bones advisedly to dash that which Vinteners good chere had unadvisedly caused them to determine late a saterday: this tale and motion toke no effect: Committees were appointed for the examination of the matter, and recompence to be had to *Mallerie:* The whole counsell of the house, who were Maister Treasorer, M. Comptroller, sir Thomas Smith, and maister Fruncis Walsingham Secretaries, sir Raulfe Sadler Chauncellor of the Dutchie of Lancaster, sir Walter Mildmaye, my Lord Russell, sir Henry Knevet, also with them Mayster Hatton, & Mayster Lovelace, their place of meeting was the Checker Chamber, the time, the seconde of the next moneth, whiche was the Wednesdaye after: The Speaker, by what direction I know not, demaunded of the house, whether they were content Smalley should be delivered from the Sergeant upon M. *Halls* wordes for his foorth comming, when he should be required, it was consented to. The 2d of March in the morning were more Committees joyned to the first, by what meanes I know not, neither yet any that I have enquired of, who were sir Owen Hopton, sir Nic. Arnold, sir Wil. Winter, M. doctor Wilson (master of the requests), M. Popham, M. Colby, M. Croke, and

M. Norton. In the after noon in the Excheker chamber came togither, maister Tresorer, M. Mildmay, M. Hatton, Sir Henry Knevet, sir Nic. Arnold, sir Owen Hopton, sir Wil. Winter, M. Lovelace, M. Wilson, M. Popham, M. Colby, M. Croke, M. Norton, and toward the evening, M. Comptroller. *Hall* declared unto them that he marveled to see so many Committees in the cause wherin̄ he was a partie, and they to be named without his consent, he specially toke exceptions to M. Norton, who was well pleased to depart. But M. Mildmay told M. *Hall* ther was none there would be ruled by him, wherupon he kept his place: In the beginning of *Halls* speech to the Committees for the appoyntyng of them, one with some choler saide he spake not truly. A hard word (you know) among some precise gadders in forain places and sufficient, as you have seen it, to make *Hall* far forget himself: but proceding, he declared the occurrents betwene M. *Melchisedech Mallerie* and him, whiche he did but lightly passe over, bicause he was dead, and so comming to the dealings, since he delivered them, as you have heard them mentioned, and therfore I think it nedlesse to repete them again. M. *Andrew Mallerie* followed, urging his brothers hurt, his charges, his arestings, his death, denying part of *Halls* allegations, protesting Smalley was arrested against his will, forcing cautele and fraud at lest to be in him, if not also in his master, at whom he glanced divers times, with terms might well have been left, as M. Mildmay and M. Wilson did advise him. The Secondaries of the two Counters, M. Mosley, and M. Christoffer, were examined upon their oathes apart, some of the sergeants, Mosleys men and others, also Smalley, who upon the interrogatories confessed, he knew Kertleton, that he was his masters Scholemaster, how he was willing inough to be arrested, bicause he would have his sureties discharged; he was demaunded whether M. *Hall* was privie to the Scholemaisters doings and his or no in Guildhall, wherto he asked whether they would have hym accuse his mayster, (answer of sufficient importance to bring suspition of hym, whether hee had bene a partner in the practise or no:) Maister Mildmaye and some others, verye honorably confessed it should be extraordinary proceeding: and therefore dealt no further therein beyng very late, aboute seven of the clocke ere they rose, they deferde theyr finall resolution what they would awarde *Mallerie* till the next morning, which they would agree on in the Treasury chamber, at theyr rising. *Hall* was very inquisitive of some of the Committees who were most his friends and contraries in the matter, and was certified more than I would he had bene, and more than I will put in wryting. Though nothing were done but with wise and grave consideration, the unkindnesse was and may be conceived, can do no good. I saw him enter into the chamber: the Committees upon earnest talke, from whome some wordes were over harde, which might be wrested to be spoken of great affection against him, he followed M. Hatton to the Courte, shewyng him, that he gathered there were some striffe on the behalfe of *Mallerie* that he forced not of the money, that he would caste away five times as much, rather than his enimies (so terming the *Malleries*) shoulde enjoy any thing (A charitable man to make a Bishop of.) that himself was cause he had put the matter to comprimise, that he reposed his confidence chiefly in him and Sir Henry Knevet, as well he might, to whome he was most assuredly beholding, praying him in what he might, to withstand and restrayne the liberal givers away of his Coyne. In the morning in the Treasury chamber by M. Treasurer, M. Comptroler, M. Mildmay, M. Hatton, M. Hopton, M. Knevet, M. Winter, M. Wilson, M. Lovelace, M. Popham, M. Colby, M. Croke, and I thinke Sir Nicolas Arnold, *Hall* and the *Malleries* were called in, where M. Treasurer declared to them that it was agreed, *Hall* should pay a hundred pound to the Administrator of the deceased *Mallerie*, betwene that and the beginning of the next Terme. He and the *Malleries* to release all matters touching the sutes betweene them. *Hall* intemperately sware he would never performe the same, alledging that some of the Committees were not indifferent, neither agreed on by him, and being demaunded who they were he tooke such exceptions to: he named Sir William Winter, M. Wilson, M. Popham, M. Colby, and M. Croke: he willed to yeelde his reason, which was; bicause they were agaynst the matter, when the house was devided, he sayde they woulde not in theyr dealings but confirme their owne opinions. M. Winter found him selfe most grieved, saying, *Hall* was not to rule his conscience, tho he were a better man than he was, (comparisons be hateful, but if betternesse may go by worthinesse in all respects and *Hall* be his owne judge he will give no place to M. Winter tho he be a Knight), M. Wilson to whom M. *Hall* hath alwayes singularly bene beholding, and *E converso* the other to him as far as his small habilitie and good will could stretche, was much miscontented that he shoulde be named among the reste, to whome *Hall* sayde, that he would committe a matter of far greater importaunce to his handes. But forasmuch as in private talke betwene them, he was so much agaynst the discharging of the prysoner, he woulde not have admitted him a judge in the cause. Well the matter was grievouslye taken, and thereof complaynte (some sayde) they woulde make to the house: by the advise of Sir Henry Knevet, and M. Hatton, muche agaynst *Halls* will, the money shall be payde. When the *Malleries* saw that *Hall* was entreated, they sued also to be at libertie, and that they should leave all things as they found them, the *Malleries* pleased as I think, tho they made face otherwise. *Hall* almost mad for anger, divers of the Committees disquieted, some to the Parliament, others to theyr owne business departed. The 6th of March M. Wilson with unloked for speeches of M. *Hall*, and his friends, considering the friendship had bin betwene them, inveyed in the house hardly agaynst him, how he had very warely charged the Committees, and that there appeared great fraude and cunning in his man, whose wordes did importe, that his Maister was the procurer and Counseller thereof. M. Winter, M. Snagge with others shotte their shaftes into the same hole, M. Treasurer as indifferent bare him self, M. Mildmay, M. Hatton, M. Colby, and M. Alforde and others directly impugned Wilson and Snagges allegacions: it was ordered, that *Hall*, *Mallerie* with his Councell, and Smalley the next day in the afternone should come to the house: as it was appointed, the parties appeared. *Hall* being within, and the others attending without, after a bill or two redde, M. Snagge called on the matter, *Hall* desired that the house might be full, and that as divers invective speeches greatly to his reproach had passed in the same, he might cleare himself before as great an assembly, or els be condempned of all craving further, that the Committees of the cause might be there who were best acquaynted with it. As the request was reasonable, so to my thinking it was not refellde, for they turned to other billes: shortly after came in M. Comptroller, M. Mildmay, M. Sadler, and M. Hatton: M. Snagge must needes on with his chace, the abuse of the place was horrible, consultation must be had, resolution determined, and judgement given. The Speaker stoode up, saying it was very convenient to know, whether *Hall* and the *Malleries* would stande to the awarde or no? Andrew and Fraunces were called to the barre, Andrew besought the house he might be at libertie, yet rather then that company should conceyve amisse of him, he and his brother condescended. *Hall* being also demaunded of his determination, required first to be satisfied in two pointes, the first, whether it was ordered, that he should chuse three or foure for the Awarde, and the house as many: It was answered no, tho I know he was, and I thinke is of an other opinion. The second, why without his knowledge after the first Committees named, there were more put to them? that the Speaker and some other denied, I suppose of ignorance. For true it was neverthelesse, he agreed to performe the Awarde, if they would so wishe it, tho earnestly he desired the contrary: it was set downe the *Malleries* and Huyt shoulde release and discharge all bondes, controversies, and questions, depending upon the first quarrell and this great action: That *Hall* should enter bonde in two hundred markes in Recognizance for the payment of a hundred pound the first of the Terme following. M. Sergeant Lovelace, and M. Recorder were the men shoulde see this done accordingly. M. Meredith of the Temple (a man whome I never hearde speake before) foorthwith called out for the abusing of the house: his earnestnesse was great, his thirst to punishe abuse much, whiche if hee regarded onely without affection, sure he deserved commendations, tho small thankes of M. *Hall* or his man, for bothe (as he affirmed) had covenously, fraudulently, and cunningly dealt with that Councel, and therefore he requested sharpe penaunce for such misdemeanour. M. *Hall* stoode up to have answered hym: but sitting betweene Sir James Harrington and M. Leyton they piucte hym downe, advising hym to let others firste speake, who were in hande to cast licour in M. Mərediths fire. M. Gente of the Inner temple was at hande to put dry water to encrease the flame, and M. Frauncis Alforde was ready at one instant with cleare running water to suppresse the inconvenience was lyke to grow. The question grew who was up firste, Gente alledged, he was he, and woulde not lose his advauntage, clayming the prerogative in the same case, *De lana caprina* was the contention, he had it. Do you remember the invective orations that passed between *Tullie* and *Cateline,* thankes be to God the matter was not so great. Gente is Cicero, *Halles* man muste be an example, (woe be to him, for so it is sayde) his Maister muste not passe free by his motion, yet so good he was to him, that some difference shoulde be had, and lighter hande layed on hym than the servaunt, whose faulte was not venyable: M. Comptroller with no lesse gravitie than good conscience, and as much experience as yeares could give, advised no further proceeding: the more to perswade, he brought foorth the dealings of considerate Princes, who having what is convenient to be obtayned, be not too scrupulous of needelesse consequences: he had no sooner done, but with the rest of the Councell, Master Hatton and others of the house, he departed to White hall to the Lordes about a Commitee. At whiche tyme M. Hatton wished M. *Hall* to procure the cause to be stayed till theyr returnes: Sir Henry Knevet was very full, whose good minde might not broke (as he tooke it) suche harde measure he dealt, not as a changelying one day in one sorte, and the nexte in an other, but as you have hearde, denied punishment of the Servaunt, and much lesse of the Maister in the beginnyng of his speeche. The Speaker woulde needes put a question, whether *Hall* should avoyde the house or no, away hee muste, lette hym hereafter take heede of speakyng agaynst London minstrelles. Master Harrington and M. Leyton dyd him no good, staying the utteryng of what he meante to speake as you hearde: for after he never had convenient occasion for the purpose. M. Winter had not bene at *Anticyra,* his choller and melancholie was not purged, the fayling of his voyce was shewe sufficient of the affection of hys minde, many woordes to aggravate the matter, some ordinary as in suche cases, but some otherwise, avouchyng that *Hall* as the day before in the afternone was at Arundels at dyce, and therfore the house abused, in that it was there reported hee was sicke, whiche as hee had of hearesay, as himselfe confessed, so did he rove at randone.

Further comming to bryng in question, how *Mallerie* was hurte by *Halls* man, he wished the Maister alwayes not to commaunde that acte to be done by his servaunt, whiche him selfe durste not doe, *Durus sermo,* and specially of his mouth, who as he is knowen to be of sufficient courage, so ought not to condemne a Gentleman of pusillanimity who he never tried, for his wordes can no less importe. M. Fraunces Alforde whome M. Winter had touched in parte of his tale, for saying M. *Hall* was sicke the day before, desired the answearing of him, in whose speech M. Snagge did somewhat intermeddle, but as M. Alforde lackes no sufficiency in his arguments he deales with, so hath he audacitie answeareable to deliver his opinion maugre interruption. He charged M. Winter that his speech did declare his affected minde, him selfe also, for the zeale to equity and favour to his friende M. *Hall,* did offende in the same kinde by his owne open confession: he disswaded the punishment, he advised all men to suppose that one Gentleman durst do as much as an other, that of all others M. *Hall* was not to be touched for any collation, laying downe his large offers and direct usages: his man as little, in seeking to discharge his sureties, a parte deservyng prayse rather than misdeeming that the officers should themselves have looked not to touche any belongyng to that assembly, that the administrator should worthely lose his execution, for *volenti non fit injuria,* if any wrong was done he was the cause of it. M. Norton and many others were of contrary minde, perswading the punishment of the Scholemaister, who is named heretofore: M. Sentpoole, M. Digges, M. Dannet, M. John Talbot and others followed M. Alforde, especially for cleeryng M. *Hall* and the Scholemaster, and also left not that parte of M. Winters tale unansweared, wherein he made mention of the hurting of *Mallerie.* M. Beale tooke of his conscience *Hall* was guilty of the fault: before they came to the question, it grew very late and darke, being past seven of the clocke: many would have departed, the dore was kepte by commandement of the Speaker. Sir Owen Hopton. M. Bricket, and M. Dalton moved eyther an ende to be made of all those causes sith the money should be payde, or els to deferre the whole till the house was full, they would not be hearde: wherefore they all standing with more disorder than I must touch so grave a Councell with: the Speaker presents two questions, the first, whether Smalley should to the Tower: thether must he: the second whether Kertleton the Scholemaister must drinke of the same cup or no, the judgement was doubtfull, the division of the house was desired: but whether latenesse, lacke or will was the cause I know not, with many discontented minds, it is ruled over that the yea was the greater, I am sure the Clerke coulde not see to enter judgement, divers of M. *Halls* friends came to him, he beyng without at the dore, finding themselves greatly grieved with the events, and at theyr wits endes, what direction to appoynt: wherewith (I shall not forget him) he repeted two verses used by *Aeneas* in great extremitie, the one Troy all in flame and past hope of recovery, and the other in extreeme hunger and misery happened in his search of Italie, *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem:* that is (quoth he) for me. For you *Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis.* He yeelded them great thankes whose favors so liberally used toward him, did answeare more contentement than the adverse hap misliking: he was advised to make vertue of necessitie, to yeelde when as there was no other remedy, he first lamented to be evill spoken of in that auditory, having by his large offers shewed sufficiently the small regarde he had to a hundred pound to be injured by the deceased *Mallerie,* and that in so hie a degree, his man wounding hym to be so deepely condemned, considering the evidence, the debt grew of nothing disbursed, to be payde to an administrator, whereby no penny to *Malleries* creditors should be answeared, that being discharged of the execution by the house, and consenting to pay a hundred pound, for the quieting of all causes, his two men should be committed to the Tower, that he and others requesting but time to have the company full, coulde not obtayne so reasonable a sute, that the dore was kepte, that the house might not be devided beyng desired, and that (as he sayde) it might be termed *opus tenebrarum,* being in the afternone, and wanting time to enter the decree. These speeches passed from him with great heate, saying he would dryve out one extremitie with another: he seemed to be touched at the quicke, protesting he was not able to beare the opprobrie his contraries woulde in corners spreade abroade: he seemed to make light of ten times the value of the money, tho it were not his ease to pay it, and so great accompt of the recited premisses, as it was told him by them that wished him well, that a Princes hart with a poore mans habilitie was an ill medley, that continuall kicking will make the backe ake, and many enemies breede disquietnes: takyng leave one of another, in the Palace, he plucking his hatte about his eares, mumbling the olde wives *Pater noster,* departed. M. *Hall* had scarcely entred his owne lodging in litle Woodstreate, but the Sergeants man was there to summon him, Smalley and Kertleton, to morrow to be at the house, to whom answere was made, they were not *Domi. Hall* gave commaundement to his folkes to denie his being at home if any came to enquire for him: the next day in the afternone the same case was againe argued, wherin M. Comptroller, Sir Henry Knevet, M. Hatton and others favorably moved for M. *Hall* and his people: it was sette downe, Smalley and the Scholemaster must to the Tower, but shortly to be delivered, that the Sergeant should leave worde at *Halls* house for the bringyng in of the parties, and if he neglected the same, to proceede with further consultation accordingly. Sommonance were given the day folowing, no man appearing from *Hall:* they tooke it in very evill parte, among whome, M. Lovelace thought he was much abused, declaring how long he wayted for him to acknowledge the recognizance, and to see the order of the house performed betweene the *Malleries* and him, 500 markes fine by his consent is litle inough to be set on his head for this contempt. A great cautell to be cut out of so small a lofe as *Halls* is: that he should by Parliament be disabled for ever to be of that Councell: a harde Censure: but motions be no lawes, if they had bene, nether would the losses have bene irrecoverable, nor the wounde past helpe of surgery. Agreed it was, that once againe warning should be left for these hiders of themselves, and if they woulde not be seene, the house should proceede to judgement. The day after M. *Hall* was perswaded by many of his very good frendes to procure Smalleys appearance, which in no case he would be brought to, and till he was charged that he gave his worde for his forth-comming at all times when he should be demanded, also that his imprisonment should be no longer than during the Parliament, he stoode too wilful in his own determination, yet answering those two poynts that he undertooke for Smalleys appearance. So the 7th of this moneth, at which time judgement was given against him, upon the Sergeants notice, he brought him to the house, and there attended the rising thereof. And for his short imprysonment, he doubted (as the sequele declared he had good cause) affirming he would never have condescended to the Awarde of 100 pound, but for the shutting up of all questions. In the morning M. Recorder brought a bill into the house, wherein it should have bene enacted, that *Hall* should pay the 100 pound, and to be turned out for a wrangler, for ever being member of that assembly. But *multa cadunt inter poculum supremaque labra*, for at that very instant worde was brought Smalley was at the dore. Yea, quoth M. Recorder, I thought of some suche matter, for I gave knowledge to Mistres *Hall* of this geare this morning, I doubted not but she would sende her man, I marvell how he could hit so right, but as women be vaineglorious, so can they not abide such an infamy to fall to theyr husbandes, and he doubted not but that M. *Hall* was (as some wiser men than he are) content many times to be advised by theyr wives. Smalley brought from his Master a letter to the house, which being delivered to the Speaker, he brake up and red to himself, after openly, and well taken, saying he had thought the direction had bene to hym: I cannot thinke the Speaker so unadvised, but somewhat he meant thereby whiche I know not, the Copy therof followeth, worde for worde.

To the Parliament House, the seventh of *February*, 1575.

RIGHT honorable and worshipful my duty most humbly remembred toward you all, I am right sory being a member of you, who have bent my poore good will towarde the service of my country among you in all trouth and plainenesse, that upon opinion conceved of me, otherwise than I have given cause in knowledge of my selfe, have proceeded against me, as a stranger, and not with that favour as a member of such a body might in good equitie have looked for, which hath forced me sore to my great discontentation to withdraw my self till a time of better favour, assuring your honors and worships all, that if my cause had bin heard and judged in a full courte, in the presence of the chiefe of the committees, who were absent, I should have abidden your uttermost sentence even to the losse of all that I had. Had I understande that every small error of mine is made an heynous offence, as the exception against certain of the committees, for want of their good wills towards me, is accompted a derogation to the aucthoritie of the house, and much impayring to their worships and credite, an exposition truly very harde, and in trouth contrary to my meaning. And wheras by the entreaty for the delivery of my man I am growen in suspition among you, and by some in apparant speeches made pertaker of his fraude, in procuring his owne execution: what so ever is conceived of me I assure you all it is without cause, as both my offer may well declare before I moved the house for his priviledge, which was a hundred pound, wherof are witnesses master Justice Harper and Manhoode, as well is knowne to Master Sergeant Lovelace, as also my willingnesse since, to submit my selfe to your orders for the parties satisfaction: of absenting my selfe I pray you consider no otherwise than as of one, who is much greeved of your offence conceived of him, and as one that can not endure the continual herd speeches brought to mine eares, much sounding to my discredite, as also to see the imprisonment of my servauntes, for whose liberties I would have bin contented to have paide so deare. I might justly have looked for some consideration in respect of the great injurie offred to my name *and credit, whereof the quarel first grew, as on the other side, for a blow given without my knowledge (God is my judge, sore against my will). But in all, I submit my selfe to your honors wisdomes, as one who is most desirous of your good opinions and favours, and wish you good success in all honorable proceedings. Written this seventh of Februarie,* 1575.

Your honours and worshippes
to commaund Arthur Hall.

The messenger was called in, was committed to the Tower there to lie a moneth, and then to be delivered if his Master did in the meane time enter bond for the payment of the 100 pound, if not there to remaine til the money were payd, if the day expired when it should be answered or the bond not acknowledged before: also M. *Hall* must pay the Sergeant, M. Bowyer forty shillings for his paines aboute these affayres. Here some of M. *Halls* friends touching this imprisonment reckened without theyr hostes, which he forgot not to lay to theyr charges, swearing by no beggers, that if he had knowne so much, he would have bidden the extremitie of all. I do not recite the particular arguments in these two daies, the 9th and 10th of this moneth, bicause they are but to the purpose you have heard in the other disputes. *Hall* not wanting favorers, tho he had many oppugnants, the 15th of the moneth *Hall* sent one of his men to the Tower to speake with Smalley, which was denied him, whereupon the day after he willed him to repayre to the Speaker to shew the dealing of the Leuetenant. M. Bell answered, the prysoner had wrong to be close kept, sith the judgement was not according. The 19th of the same moneth *Hall* sent James Chambers his servaunt to the Leuetenaunt to declare he marvayled his man should be so straightly imprisoned, his answeare was; his usage be very good. His Master could not speake with him, but if he would write, after the contents were seene the letter should be delivered. The 26th he went himself to the Tower, Sir Owen Hopton not being there, the prisoner could not be spoken with. The 28th M. *Hall* seekes out M. Recorder, who advised to pay the money presently or to put in sureties for the same, for I tell you the Shreves of London, now seeme to have interest in the matter, bicause *Malleries* administrator had no state to sticke to if *Hall* had denied payment. But they would not I deeme, take a Gentlemans single bonde, neither would M. Recorder but use them to theyr best liking. The next morning comes M. Mosley to *Hall* and he perswades the like, but more than covenaunt will not be performed. Wherfore in the morning Squyre and *Hall* goes to Doctor Clerke in Pater noster Rowe, where he knowledges a recognizaunce of 200 markes to the administrator for the payment of one hundred poundes the first of the Terme following: the same day for the good service the Scholemaster Kertleton had done, he was discharged his service, whereat Cecil Hall his masters sonne, was no whit discontented. M. *Hall* also in the afternone rides towards his country home at Grantham, leaves the recognizaunce in his servaunt James Chambers handes to be delivered to Huyts use, and to receyve the Releases accordingly, loking for the delivery of Smalley at the day prefixed: until the 8th of April he was posted over from one to another, to M. Recorder, to M. Mosley, &c. And bicause *Andrew Mallerie* the agent of all these causes will not be founde, tho *Hall* have performed the decree, yet for his pleasure his man is like to lie longer than his time by the heeles: other of the *Malleries* were spoken withall, who directly answered, that if the case were theirs, they would make no releases, *Halls* insufficiency considered, without a good surety to performe the money. Speeches not so much to the discredite of him as to the whole Parliament, whose consideration did inhable him for the same. Chambers repayred streight to M. Comptroller, declaring to him the usage of this matter. The 9th day of April the Recorder came to M. Comptroller, who willed him to frame a letter in the names of himself, M. Treasurer, sir Walter Mildmay, and M. Walsingham, to be directed to the sayd Recorder, whereunto they would set theyr hands, the contents whereof to be, That whereas M. *Hall* had performed the order set downe by the house, and knowledged his recognizance, and the time expired of his mans punishment, he should make certificate to the Leuetenant for his delivery. M. Comptroller also commaunded that the recognizance should be taken to M. Recorder, he to keepe it, till Huyt and the *Malleries* had passed the releases, to whom answer was made, that by his former appointment it was left with M. Richard Litler his neere neighbour and *Halls* Attorney. Chambers attending on the Recorder, he will have the recognizance inrolled, els nothing shall be done, which should then have bene in force against *Hall*, and he to seke for his releases backe, which he forsaw, giving his man commaundment in no case to part with his bonde with one hand, but to receyve the discharges with the other: which to do, there was time inough, for that the Recognizance was knowledged the 29th of March, and the moneth came out for Smalleys imprisonment after the shortest reckening, the 7th of Aprill, dayes sufficient to ende a greater cause. Chambers sent with speede for his Masters pleasure touching the delivery of the recognizance to the Recorder, which he gave him warrant to do, and offering the same, it would not be received, till the releases from the *Malleries* were performed: nether yet will any certificate for the enlargement of the prisoner be had, so must M. *Hall* be unkindly handled, pay well, his man against justice lie fast, beside being laught at by his enemies in theyr sleeves, the judgment of that high Court of Parliament contempned. Chambers returnes to M. Comptroller the Recorders answer, praying the delivery of Smalley, that the recognizance might be in the custody of the Leutenant, till Huyt and the *Malleries* had ended what was to be done on theyr behalfes. M. Comptroller allowed of his motion, and willed him to repayre to M. Treasurer for his opinion therein: he appointed that the Recorder should come to him, who having knowledge accordingly, answered he had letters from my L. Treasurer, as he had indeede, and therefore could determine no time: further, that unless the *Malleries* would come in and discharge the Sheryves, or else that *Hall* did put in sufficient sureties for the payment of the money, the prysoner should not be enlarged for any mans pleasure. A sore speech, but *stet pro ratione voluntas*, I thinke must be alledged as the best reason for such proceedings. When thus much was brought to M. *Hall*, I heard him say, that at M. Recorders handes he alwayes loked if not for favour, at the least for equitie, and that he had well deserved the same. M. Recorder can tell whether he sayeth truely or no, yet thus much for mine owne parte, with good testimony I can prove, that *Hall* hath not spared his great good speeches like a friendly Gentleman in the commendations of M. Recorder, against the invective (I thinke) slaunders of divers lavishe tongues. The 23d of Aprill M. Treasurer sent the Recognizance to sir Walter Mildmay, desiring him to deale with the Recorder therein, who the nexte day having worde, went to him: *Andrew Mallerie* and Huyt his man were sent for by a pursuivant, and with them the Secondary and Squyre came: M. Recorder was or would be sicke, the matter debated a whyle, M. Mildmay commaunded Chambers in, tolde him the day of payment was at hand, that the Recognizaunce being in the *Malleries* handes woulde with difficultie upon the payment of money be cancelled, that also charge would grow thereof, and therefore perswaded *Donari contanti*, which he excusing, M. Mildmay demaunded some to gyve theyr wordes to the *Malleries* for the more assuraunce, whiche he coulde not do without his Maisters directions, urging still performaunce according to the order in Parliament. M. *Mallerie* coulde not be contented with a Recognizaunce of M. *Halls* as it was decreed, but muste have his minde satisfied with the infringement of the resolution of that place, and what soever comes of the rest, his quietnesse must be provided for, for forsooth he doubted further trouble: nothing done, Chambers was willed to prove a day or two for provision of the money, whiche if he could, he would not have done, without commission thereto: he therefore might have played Coleprophetes parte if he had pleased, (one of the 24 orders), and told his message before he went aboute it. The recognizaunce M. Mildmay keepes, and Chambers goes aboute to see if he can finde an hundred pounds in the streates, or meete with some one will give him so much. M. *Mallerie* hath Smalley faste, and the bonde no doubte if the worst fall will at length be payde, (tho it tarry long) spite of all M. *Halls* debts, for yet he is a freeholder. The 8th of May, God be thanked, the money is reddy somewhat before appoyntment with hard shift inough: for beggers without daunger of lawe cannot have money when they woulde: before sir Walter Mildmay it is by Huyt and the *Malleries* received, the releases performed, a warrant for the prisoner to goe play himselfe, signed by M. Mildmay, the whiche nowe the Recorder firmes with *William Fleetewood*, the 9th of the same, paying twelve pound to the Leuetenaunt (M. *Halls* cosen) without dayes given, and other charges besides of forty-three shillings and ten pence, he was turned forth. And bycause he hath song in so worthy a Gayle, his Master thought him not meete to chaunte in so meane a Cadge as the beste house he is like to have, so that now he may, beyng Sommer, learne a new note in the greene fields. Here have you the end of this great cause thus far, to the excessive charge of M. *Hall* one way and other, trouble of Frendes and minde, and slaunderous reporte among such as know not the truth, and therfore to the more prejudice of his simple reputation. My excuse I made to you at the beginning, and I nothing doubt of your good accepting of my well meanyng, if by accident or otherwise than I desire or hope, this private certificate hap to the handes of any who be offended for not beyng soothed, beare malice for being contraried, thinke unkindnesse bicause they are not commended, as other quarrel bicause I wrote the truth, or for affection sake can daunce nothing but theyr owne galliarde. I must thus answeare, that I have wronged them for naming any person in this manner particularly, and not put too my name, your selfe knowes my stile (simple God wote) and therefore need I the lesse to avoyde further question (if my letters should be intercepted) to set to my hande, *Contra verbosos nolo contendere verbis,* I love no disputation but where I may learne, *Quoniam senex esse volo, citò si possem ero,* olde I must be or die young: And therefore will I yeelde over to the yonger to play with the worlde, who carelesse hope with uncertaine likyng for great things, while I with regarde to my whyte heares comming on with contentement am glad to enjoye mine owne small porcion: for my paynes, I crave no thankes of any straunger, neyther yet of M. *Hall* himselfe, whose good partes I muste of force confesse I do unfaynedly love, for the rest I am sory, and remayne with his enemies in one predicament for the conceyving of his wantes, but differ in desire with them towardes him, bycause I pray the amendment, which I doubt not of, and they gape for his overthrow, whiche were pitty if my request woulde come to passe: I wishe truth to be reported in all causes, whiche if it had bene, I had saved this labour, for at my beying at Killingworth in the beginning of Aprill laste, where what greate company were assembled, what liberall cheere spent, what familiar welcome used, and honorable consideration of all sortes had, I referre to them that know what is incorporate to that house since it came into the handes of hym that now hath it: There I say I saw M. *Hall* by his owne brother in law M. Henry Skipwith, by M. George Holte, M. James Cressy, and others who love the man well, so loden with evil fame and opinion that went of him for the premisses herein recited and that untruly, as of myne owne knowledge I am assured, that I pitying the case, determyned at the last with you who tenders him, not to suffer so unjustly his credite, (tho small) to be so wildly tyred on. With my old and accustomed well thinking, and praying for you, I leave you. From London the 19th of May, 1576.

Your Frende no chaungeling,

F. A.

An Admonition by the Father of F. A. to him being a Burgesse of the Parliament for his better Behaviour therein.

SONNE, for as much as I now have obtayned for you my place in the common house of Parliament, for the increase of your knowledge, you growing to the worlde and I from it: I thought to bestowe a few lynes upon you, tho I had long since yelded my pen to be quiet, my abilitie to write being decayd, which never was great, and my memory alway bad, now in a manner grown to lithargie: wherein to lay before you, as well as I could, such advises as to folowe I have founde profitable. But considering mine owne wants, I withdrew my selfe from my determination. Yet minding, with whom I should deale, whom I should counsel, to whom I shoulde sette abroade the shewe of my experience, in good houre I hope I proceeded herein, for straungers will take thankfully, what is don by others of a good meaning for their behouf, and muche more children, that whiche is done in the same kinde by their parents. I suppose it not needelesse lightly to runne over (as I can call to minde) by what Lawes this Realme of England hath beene governed, where altered, where cleane abrogated and others confirmed, which laste of all is your Parliament, whereto I meane to come. Wee alow the report of Brutes arriving and inhabiting this Isle the yeare of the worlde after the most writers 2855, before the incarnation of Christ 1108. He builte London, calling it *Troynouant*, wherein he stablished with the name, the *Troyan* Lawes: what they were I finde no recorde, but that King *Alured* about the time of Christes birth, 872, did gather the same Lawes together, and translated them into English. But for the religion, it seemed he followed the Paganisme then used through the whole worlde, as a greate number of yeares after it did continue. Til the 441 yere before the comming of Christ, this lande was ruled, nowe with law and

Brute.

now without lawe, bycause of the civil dissention therein, at which time *Mulmutius Dunwallo*, or *Dunwallo Mulmutius* chose you, the sonne of Cloten Duke of Cornewayle, by strong hande bringyng the new righte called *Lawe Moluntine*, which graunted great privileges to Temples, to plowes, to fayres and markettes, and to the way leading to them, prohibiting men to bee troubled for any cause in the same: the wars among themselves had so wasted the subjects, as liberty and freedome muste nowe bring people together againe, to joine in a newe corporation of friendship. And to exclude all feare, he pardoned most freely all offences past. These ordinaunces did holy Gildas about the yeare of Christ 543 translate oute of Brytishe into Latine: and Alured as afore about 872, out of Latin into the English: Gurgunstus of some Gurguintus, the son of Belinus, before Christ 375, was the first (it should seme, that imposed death and losse of limb for transgression,) did also grievously punish the peace breakers. Quinthelinus his sonne married a noble gentlewoman to name *Martia*, who erected certaine decrees of governement whiche were called after hir *Martian Laws*, brought likewise into English by king Alured, leaving them the little Marthehelage as much to say, *the law of Martia*. Lucius (it is said) the eight yeare of his raigne, of Christ 188 (some small controversye there is of the time) was christened, Elutherius being Bishop of Rome, and counted the first christened King of this Iland, of the most credible writers, tho some woulde have Arviragus, 138 yere before, to have the preheminence, as well by the preachyng of Simon Zelotes one of the disciples of Christ here martyred and buryed, as by Joseph of *Arymathy* (who had *Mutryn* now *Glastenbury*, his place appointed of habitation), sente hyther with twelve disciples by the Apostle *Philip* then preaching in *Gaul* nowe *Fraunce*, too sone to come to Christ, onlesse we would felowe him better. Lucius was very timely, considering the late repayre to him of many nations, nerer the plat of his birth and passion, whom I would recite, but I have digressed too long. Lucius sent to Eleutherius, desiring him he might have the imperial and Romaine Lawes to guide and governe his countrey, who retourned him this answere: *As touching the rightes of the Churche, and*

Mulmutius.

Gurgunstus.

Martia.

Lucius.

service of God whiche you have received, they must remaine alwayes one, untouched, the policie for civill rule may be abrogated and altered as occasion shall serve : you have the booke of the olde and newe preceptes, the Bible, with the advise of your kingdome, make a Lawe, thereby to governe your subjects. Here some will say was your first Parliament, and the veric original thereof, whyche I no way can agree to: and the cause hereafter I wyl shewe you. Lucius died wythout heire: for the space of fifteene yeeres or more all wente to havocke, tyll Severus the Emperour, discended *Severus.* rightlye from King Lud, toke the gouvernement upon him about the yere 208, some account lesse, the Romaines seldome quietly, but for the most parte to their excessive charge and trouble held the domynion, til the death of Constantine the yere 443, then *Constantine.* neglecting the same as a country not worth the keeping; who leaving behind him Constant or Constantin for his simplicity in his fathers time shorne a monk at Winchester. Vortiger, *alias* *Vortiger.* Vortigern, of some the Duke of West Saxons, of other the Duke or Erle of *Jewesses*, who after were called West Saxons, toke him out of the Cloyster, and crowned him king, whome yet hee caused to bee murdered the first yeare of his raigne, so that for those 240 yeares few laws were made, and fewer executed. Vortiger usurping or being chosen king the 448 yeare, so continued but a while in rest, for not onely his nobles, but the Pictes and Scottes layde so sore to him, that driven to extremitie, he sent into Germany for the Saxons and Englishmen to aide him in his warres, not only against the foraine enimye, but his owne people, promysing to them habitation, whiche hee might well spare, the land being in a manner wast by the meanes of the great mortalitie by pestilence, the Scottes and Pictes invasions, and the civill slaughter. Their request was accepted, and *Horsus* and *Hengist* brought hether certain souldiers, Panims, by whose valour *Vortigers* contraries were tamed: by the cotinuall repaire and flocking hether of those straungers, the inhabitaunts were put to the dore. For before the yere of our Lorde 498, there were three kingdomes erected by the Englishmen and Saxons, the first of Kent by Hengist, the second by Hella and his three sonnes, of the south *Hengist.* Saxons, comprising Devonshire and Cornewal, Somersette and

Southery, or rather Hampshire for Southery (according to the more probable writers). The third of east Angles by Uffa, conteining Norfolk and Suffolke. These broyles being no time for *Arthur.* lawes or letter, but for fier and bloud, Arthur the son of Uther Pendragon was crowned king of Britayne, tho a greate part (as you heare) were taken from him. The yere 516 he fought twelve greate battayles with the Saxons, in all the which he put them to the worse, yet coulde he not avoyde them the Land, neyther yet *Cerdicus.* so subdue them, but that Cerdicus the fifth yere of his raigne began the fourth kingdome of west Saxons, which consisted (as I gather) of Worcester, Dorcet. Wiltshire, Stafford, and those western partes adjacent. Aboute the yeare 547 the two Kingdomes of Northumberland, that is the fifte and sixte principality *Ida.* of the Saxons toke roote. In the one, called *Brevitia,* Ida first *Ella.* had rule. In the other called *Deira,* Ella was governor. These two kingdomes had in them the countries from *Humber* northward to the Scottish sea, and continued sometime under one king and sometime under two. The yere 586 the Britains were driven into Wales, and presently the Saxons had the dominion of the whole lande: At whyche time was the Christen religion thereby extinct, and not thought on but among the Britaynes in Wales. *Sebertus.* After some, Sebertus leader of the East Saxons in 614 gave first beginning to that kingdome, and had in it Essex. Not long after *Penda.* Penda the Miscreant the yeare 626 made the kingdom of *Mercia,* who governed Huntingtonshire, Hertfordshire, Glouc. War. *Cadwallader.* Lecester, Nottingham, Northumberland and others. Cadwallader the last king of Britaine died at Rome the yeare of grace 656, about whiche time according to some writers, but I thinke rather *Inas.* the yeare 712, Inas, otherwise called Iue or Iew, a Christian, helde the rule of the West Saxons. He set downe certaine laws, the preamble to the whiche is this: Inas *by the grace of God king of west Saxons, with the consultation and advise of* Kenred *my father,* Hedda *and* Erkenwald *my Bishoppes, of all my councellours and the olde wise men of my people in the greate congregation of the servauntes of God, did labour to confirme justice and equitie to be executed in my whole territorie.* These particular edictes are not to my purpose to write: but the firste, intituled *Of the* *manner of the living of the ministers of God,* toucheth somewhat the matter, which goes thus: *First wee commaunde that Gods ministers doe observe the order of life alreadie sette downe: and further wee will that to the rest of our people, the lawes and judgementes bee in this manner:* and so goeth on. This also is alleaged for the confirmation of antiquity of our parliament. I finde that Egbert, who was an under Kyng in West Saxons, was expelled *Egbert.* by Brithricus the King there, and fled into Fraunce: but Brithricus being poysoned by his wife Ethelburga, Egberte retourned, and obtayned the whole principality, the yere 793, others say 802: and withal brought the most parte of England under his obeysance, tamed the Welchmen, and toke from them Chester, by meanes of which his good fortunes, he called a counsel of hys Lordes at Wynchester, and by their advises and agreements was crowned kyng and chiefe Lord of the land: wherupon he sent forth commaundemente thorowe his country, straightlye charging the people thenceforth to bee called *Angles* and no more Britains, and the kingdome *Anglia* and not Britaine. In the yeare 800 (some accompte thirteene lesse) the Danes being also *Danes.* Paynims firste entred this region, according to the most. The Danes invaded the seconde tyme the yere 838, Athelwolph raygning, who of himselfe first graunted the tyth of corne, hay, and cattel to the cleargy. And after toke such fast footing, as they continually infested this Island with cruell wars, usurpation, and conquest, til the death of Hardicanutus or Hardiknought the last king of that breed. In 1034, some accompt two fewer, Alured, *alias* *Alured.* Alphred before spoken, began to governe the West Saxons, who beyng a most juste Prince, very well learned, and carefull for the makyng and execution of good lawes, collected and caused to be brought into the Saxon or English tong, all such as by the kings his forgoers were stablished, selecting out of them such as were thought most fit for the governement, confirming them, and secluding the rest, reciting many of the commaundements and precepts given by God to Moyses, and the message that the apostles and elders sent to *Antiochia, Siria,* and *Cilicia,* by Saint Paul, Barnabas, Judas, and Silas, touching the diverting of themselves, as we have it in the Acts of the Apostles, and also by the assembly and conference of the Bishoppes and other noble and wise counsellours, divers money penalties and others were appointed, and the same not onely declared in their sermons, but also put in writing. He proceedes in the beginning of such as are allowed by him, *(In hæc verba) These decrees and ordinaunces I* Alured *King have gathered together, and caused to be written, a greate parte whereof, our auncestours have carefully kepte, with manye other, that I have thought worthye in this our age to be helde and maintained with the like observation: and other some which I have thought not to be so needful I have with the conference of considerate counsellors in parte abrogated, and partly established. And bycause it maye seeme a pointe of too much rashness, of a mans owne heade to adde any thing more, also that it is uncertaine what credite our posteritie will give thereto, which we make greate reconing of, whatever I have founde worth the regarde in the actes of my kynnesman and countryman* Inas, *of* Offa *the King of* Mertia, *or of* Ethelberte, *the first christened of the Angles, I have brought together, omitting the rest. And in the consultation of them, I* Alured *King of West Saxons, have used the counsell of the gravest of our people, to all the whiche I have commanded that the same be executed and kept.* Moreover in this kings time, Gutteron, *alias* Gowthram, *alias* Gythrun, *alias* Gurmund, of some named king of Danes, by some king of Denmarke, arrived in this land, and sometime having the better in armes, and sometyme put to the worse, was at the last christened, and named by Alured, Athelstane, the yere 878, to whom he gave the kingdome of East England with the governement of Saint Edmundes kingdome, and also some write Northumberland: with whome making league, and agreing in the confynes of their countries, beginnes in this manner, *The truce and aliaunce which* Alured *and* Guthrun *kings have agreed by the advise of the wise of the English nation, and of all the inhabitauntes of East England, to the which they not onely for themselves, but also for their children to come are sworne.*

Edward. Edward, the first before the conquest called Edward the Elder his eldest son, beginning to raigne next after him the yeare 900, made and confirmed also certain lawes, the first chapter whereof is intituled, *Of controversie and judgement*, and goes thus: *I king*

Edwarde *do againe and againe commaunde all those who beare office in the common wealth, that they beare themselves asmuch as in them lies, just judges to all men, as it is written in the Judiciall booke, without feare, boldely and freely, to declare the common lawe, and do appoint denounced daies wherin they will deale in everye question and controversie.* This Edwarde also confirmed the league with the fornamed Guthrun the Dane in this manner, adding also to the former decrees, by equal consents, *these bee the councels, institutes and ordinaunces, whiche firste* Alured *and* Guthrun, *then* Edwarde *and* Guthrun *kings at those dayes, were agreed on,* when both the Danes and English accepted the treaty of peace. Athelstane, King Edwardes eldest sonne, (by whose prowesse and valure it is affirmed thys lande was reduced into one Monarchie againe, layde so sore to the Danes, that since their first landing they were never so harde driven), did also constitute certaine lawes and ordinances, beginning them wyth these wordes: Athelstane *King, by the councel of the grave father* Ulfhelme *Archbishop, and other my Bishops, do will and commaunde to all officers, and such as have charge of Justice. I* Athelstane *King, give notice to all put in authority in our dominions, that with the advise of* Ulfhelme *Archbishop, and other Bishops and servaunts of God, have ordered and set forth.* In the ende of all he closeth with these wordes: *These be the ordinances and decrees determined of, in the honorable counsell of* Grantamlean, *where was present* Wolstane *the Archbishop, and with him great companie of the best and wisest sorte called together by* Athelstane. The assembly parted, the king had enquired how the peace was kept among his people, and fynding it and justice smally to hys mind dealt, injoyned more laws to his first, and thus shewes the cause: *I* Athelstane *King, will all men to know, that having demanded why our peace is not manteyned according to my commaundement and the decree at* Grantamlean, *I am certefied from the experienced of my dominions, that the same is happened by my overmuche sufferance and remissnesse in punishing. But now at Christmas last at Exeter, being attended on with grave wise men whom I found most readye to venture their facultie, themselves, wives and children, to most greate hazarde; that these peace breakers might utterly without retourning be expelled the lande.*

Athelstane.

Edmunde. The yeare 946, Edmund his brother beganne to rule after him, in whose time the Danes held Lincolne, Nottingham, Darby, Stafford, and Leicester: who also erecting and confirming lawes, shewes this, by whom they were consented on, Edmund *King held the solempne Feaste of Easter at London, where were mette a great companie of the Cleargie and laity, among whom were* Oda *and* Wolstane *Archbishoppes, and many other Bishoppes, to provide for their soules health, and theirs whom they had the cure of:* And in an other place, *I Edwarde, King, to all both yong and olde in my jurisdiction give knowledge, that I in the solempne assemblie of the best seene of my kingdome, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, have carefully enquired, and so foorth.*

Edgar. King Edgar his seconde sonne, the yeare 959, was likewise a lawe maker, and thus entitles them: *The lawes whiche I* Edgar *King, in the frequented senate, to the glory of God, the dignity of my Majestie, and the profite of the common wealth have past.*

Ethelred. Etheldred, or Eldred, or Egelred, the second son of Edgar, the yeare 979, by the murder of Edward his elder brother, named the Martire, came to the crown, in whose time the Danes so entred this land, as ere they had done: the king fledde into Normandy, and left his kingdome to Swanus, the Tyrant Dane, after whose decease retourning, he not long after died: hee also being doing with lawes, termes them thus: *The councel of grave fathers which king* Ethelred *had at Woodstock in* Marcia *for the preservation of the peace, whiche is governed by the English lawes:* at the ende of suche perticulers as are agreed on, he concludes in this maner: *This our commaundement and decree if any shall neglect, &c. He shall pay to the king one hundred twenty shillings.* There was a league made also by the said King with the army of Aulavus, Justinus, and Gustimundus the sonnes of Stegetie the Dane, and goes thus: *The agreement or part which once or of late king* Ethelred *by the advise of his wise confederates with them aforesayde did enter in.*

Edmunde. His sonne Edmund, surnamed Ironside, parted the Realme with Canutus or Knought King of Denmark, who being slayn by the treason of Edricke, Canutus enjoyed the whole principality: and tho Swanus were the firste Danish King here, yet held hee not the kingdome so absolutely as this man did. Hee made more lawes than anye one before him, which are thus intituled: *The decrees which* Canutus, *king of English, Danes, and Norwayes, at Winchester at Christmas hath appointed by the advise of men of knowledge, to the honour of the God of heaven, the renoume of the kings Majestie, and the benefite of the common wealth.* Againe in an other place he useth these wordes: *These are the humaine and lawes politique, wherin using the counsel of the wise, I command to be kept thorough Englande.* Hee began to raigne alone the yeare of grace 1019.

Edwarde.

Edwarde the Confessour after Hardikenitus the last king of the Danish bloud, in 1043, began to raigne: he founded many holesome lawes, and was the firste erector, as it is written, of the common law, whych William Conqueror did after confirme, wherof this I finde. After the conquest of England, the foresayde King William, the fourth yere of his raigne, by the persuasion, advise and councel of his nobility, did summon throughout his land the nobles, the governours, the grave heads, and the Learned in the lawe, to heare of them their rights, customes and ordinances, whereof chosing twelve of every county, who taking their othes before the king, directly, truely, and so forth, to shew and declare the same, they brought the lawes of Saint Edward as we have them now, and the king established them in that manner.

William Conqueror.

Henry 1.

The Conqueror hymselfe began to rule this Ilande 1066, (some reckon a yeare more) who also adding certaine ordinaunces in the entraunce, hath these wordes: *Here beginneth what William king of the Englishe nation, after the conquest, with his nobility hath appointed to be perfourmed.* I reade that Henry the first his sonne, who governed after William Rufus his brother, did at the beginning of his raign lighten the great exactions imposed by his father and brother, reduced and amended Saint Edwards lawes, whiche as it should seeme, were eyther forgotten, or would not be remembred, for all the fathers confirmation (or rather shew therof) reformed measures, and apoynted directions to be observed. Aboute the thyrtith yeare of hys raigne hee helde a counsel at London, wherin it was thought good, he shold have the Cleargy within his censure. *Maude* the Empress his daughter, first marryed to Henrie the Fourth Emperor of Almayne, and afterwards to Geffrey Plantagenet Erle of *Anjou,* (the 31st of his raigne) had by hir husbande shortly after a son named Henrie, upon the knowledge wherof he called his nobles together, and decreed, that his daughter and the heirs of hir body shoulde succeede him in the Kyngdome. Grafton in the thirteenth yere of this King, in his Cronicle saith thus: *And in this time began the Parliament in Englande firste to be instituted and ordeyned for reformation and governement of this Realme. The manner whereof (as I have found it set out in an olde pamflet) I intende at large to set foorth in the raigne of King Edwarde the thirde, when and where Parliaments were yearely and orderly kepte.* The whiche I sought to finde, but promise was not kepte. Turning his booke, I founde in his preface to the Reader these wordes: *And where I have in the 13th yere of King Henry the firste promised to place the maner and order that first was taken for the holding of the Parliamente, in the time of King Edwarde the thirde, I have sith that tyme for sundry good causes thought meete to omit the same, and therefore admonish the Reader not to looke for it.* Hereof judge you, and if you wyll have hys reason, he is not far to seke.

Stephen. Stephen in a manner no sole sybbe to the Crowne, the righte heyres being alive, was by the nobilitye admitted King. In hys time the Empress by the aide of hyr Basterd brother Robert Earle of Gloucester, the civill warres grew great, wherin the King being taken, and who now but the Empress, as it were confirmed according to hir just title: she was moved for the restitution of Saint Edwards Lawes, but shee was deafe on that side. The last yeare of thys Kings time, he and Henrie the Empress sonne, grew to communication and agreement. The King commaunded his Lordes to assemble at Winchester, where Duke Henrie was honorably receyved, and there it was agreed he shoulde adopte the Duke hys sonne, and confirme to him the Crowne of Englande after his deceasse.

Henry 2. Henry the second, hys follower in the governement, of another clayme, helde a councel at the beginning of his raign at Wallingforde, where the Barons were sworne to the King. The eyght yere of his raigne, he caused all the subjects to sweare fealty to his sonne Henrye, touching the inherytaunce. In the ninth yeare Fabian sayeth the kyng called a Parliament at Northampton, and so termed it, (as also in some other places he doeth Councels and calling togethers of the Lordes by the prynce) wherin himselfe vouches, nothing was done, but a pretence to reforme and somewhat gelde the preveleges of the Cleargy. The same time a councel was helde at Claringdone, and before the King, the Bishoppes and nobilitie were sworne, to keep and confirme many decrees and ordinaunces. John Stow writes in his Summary of the Cronicles of Englande, that the 34, of his ragne, at Geldington about ten miles from Northamton, he shoulde holde a Parliament touching a voyage to be taken to the holy lande. But if you consider the haste the king made thether, the state at that present he stode in, the place, the shortnesse of the time, and the matters there communed of, you shall finde that in terming this or such like consultation Parliaments, Maister Fabian, Stow, Harding, and other Englishe writers do rather use the worde (as in deede it is proper, where any conference is) than that it carries with it, where it comes, the same to be understood to be the greate Courte of Parliament, in such general forme and universal manner, as nowe and since the time of Kyng Henrie the thyrde, we have and do use it, as you knowe the worde is Frenche, and this much importeth, *A debating together, A conference, A consultation, A conferring, An enterspeech, A communication, A discoursing one with another,* which may bee as well with Ten for the worde, as with Ten score.

Kyng Richard the first, in the eighte yeare of hys raigne, retourning from the holy lande, his brother John, in his absence usurping the Crowne, summoned a counsell of hys Lords at Winchester, where by auctority of the said councel hee deprived his brother of all dignitye, preferments, and landes, whyche before hee hadde bestowed on hym. *Richard* 1.

After Richards deceasse he possessed the Crowne, and in the firste and thirde yeare by the holding of two counsels (as some affirme) hee had certaine exactions agreed uppon, for the maintenaunce of his wars: others write, that of himselfe hee levied the sayd summes. The eleventh yeare all men toke the othes of Allegeance to hym from twelve yeres upward. The fourteenth *John.*

yere (here is some difference for the yere) the Lordes and Barons required the use of Saint Edwardes Lawes, and the revoking of other wicked ordinaunces, the which he, not harkening to, the civil warre begonne; yet at Barhamdowne the king and nobilitie meeting, they confirmed so much, as they departed quietly. The sixteenth of his raigne, the king being slowe to performe that which he was brought to, perforce, the nobility toke them againe to armes, and so hardlye sette him, as in a meadowe betweene Windsor and Staynes in a manner *Nolens, volens,* hee graunted their liberties: and the Charter for their confirmation thereof, is dated at *Rune meade,* between the places before named, to the which all the Realme was sworne. In the same yere the Lords perceiving the Kings disposition, to shifte from that hee hadde agreed on, sente into Fraunce for *Lewes* the sonne of Philip the Frenche King, who arriving here, was receyved by the Barons and Londoners honorably, who sware fealty to him, and did him homage, and then all with one crye they seeke oute the king, who being at Winchester, was driven to flye, whyche towne yeelded and was sworn to *Lewes,* whether also repayred in a maner all the nobility. For all this sturre, King John procured the Pope by meanes of Pandolphe the legate, to dispence with his othe, to reverse the Charter and liberties graunted, and also excommunicate the Barons and Frenchmen.

Henry 3. Henrie his sonne, of the age of nine yeres, yong enough for to take the charge of a Kingdome, and specially during such garboyles, yet by the good governmente of Marshal Erle of Penbroke, many of the Lordes drewe to him, and very shortly after *Lewes* was driven to leave the land, and being released of his excommunication, the peace was agreed on the ninth yeare of his raigne, of his age the sevententh, or thereabout. At the motion of the Archbishoppe of Caunterbury and other the Lordes, the king graunted and confirmed the greate Charter: whereupon (as I can gather by some records) the warde and mariage of our children was graunted to the king and his successours: the twelfth yeare the king refused to perfourme the liberties and Charter graunted as before, for that the ratification past in his minoritie, and that now being of full yeres to beare the sway himselfe, hee woulde bee better advised. The twentith of his raigne is found the first Parliament of name and record, and yet not to be so thought a Parliament as now we use ours. It is entituled, *The statuts made at Merton.* And further he says, *It was provided in the Courte of our soveraigne Lord the king holden at Merton the morrowe after the twentith day of* Saint Vincent, *the twentith yere of the raigne of King* Henrie *the son of King* John, *before* William *Archbishoppe of Caunterburie and other his Bishoppes and suffraganes, and before the greater parte of the Earles and Barons of England there assembled, &c.* without addition of the thyrde state of this land. Also you have a statute made the yeare after, entituled *for the leape yeare,* beginning, *The King unto the justices of his Bench greeting.* The 42d yere, or after some the 41st, the barons unwillingly bearing the kings driving off for the restitution of certaine auncient lawes, there was a Parliament at Oxforde, which was called *the madde Parliament,* yet not so mad, but the king, his brother king of Romains, and Edward his sonne, must and did agree thereto, tho much against their willes, bycause many matters were ordeyned greatly and too much against the kings prerogative, for the sure establishing and execution whereof, there were twelve peeres appointed, who had the charge and auctority to see the ordinaunces made, maintayned. Whether for the small worthynesse of the lawes, or the disorder in making, or the shortnesse of the continuaunce I knowe not, but I finde not any of those statutes with the rest which are rekened to be King Henrie the thirds. These twelve noble men were no soner in commission, but they began roughly, presently exiling foure of the Kings brethren by the mother. The 43d and 44th yere of his raigne there were certaine assemblies, sometime of the nobility without the King, and of the king without the Lordes, without any mention of our thirde interest, and all called Parliaments. Thys yere in a Folkmote at London were all above twelve yeres sworne to the king. In the 45th yeare he had obtained from Rome a dispensation for his othe, and all others of his, which he and they had taken for the maintenance of Oxforde folly; The peeres during this pastime, unwitting and unwilling the kyng, discharged Hugh le Spencer chiefe Justice, and put an other in his place, expelled officers and Sherifes admitted by the king, and appointed other to supplie their romes. Further, the king was grownd to harde termes, which was, hee shoulde not passe over the Seas having large Territories in other countries, without licence obtained, as in this yeare appeareth. The next yeare as before in the 44th, were all men in London above twelve yeares of age sworne to the king and his successours. The 47th of his raigne, the barons armed themselves, the Kyng and Queene fled from the tower to Windsor, and by the way were too unkindly used by the Londoners. The King and Lords fell to agreement (as Fabian writes) and were contented to be ordered by the doome of the French king who they agreed to be judge betweene them: the king, giving sentence, the Barons refuse, and fall to war. The yeare following, the King, his brother and sonne were taken in the Battayle at *Lewes,* by meanes whereof the king grauntes anew the confirmation of the former statutes: and till matters accordingly be perfourmed, Prince Edwarde, and the king of Romaines sonne, remaynes pledges wyth the Barons. The 49th yeare Prince Edwarde being delivered, a Parliament or rather a counsell (bycause I finde no statute thereof) was helde at Winchester, and all matters and decrees passed at Oxforde were utterly undone, revoked, and called in, and all writings and assuraunces sealed for the same, were cancelled and defaced. You have certaine statutes concluded, I thinke, at Winchester, in your firste volume, made in the yeare 51 of thys king, in all the which you finde no other wordes for the moste parte: but *the king willeth* or *he commaundeth:* Unlesse hee firste alleadge an inconvenience happened, which to redresse, he uses, *It is therefore provided and ordained.* The yeare after there were certain statutes passed at Marlebridge or Marleborowe, where you have this beginning: *The yeare of grace* 1267, *the 25th yeare of the raigne of king Henry, sonne of king John, in the* Vtas *of Saint Martine, for the better estate of the Realme of England, and for the more speedie administration of justice, as belongeth to the office of a king, the more discrete men of the Realme being called together, as well of the higher as of the lower estate, it was, &c.* In all these statutes no word of *enacted or ordained by the aucthority of this present Parliament,*

&c. is founde, but it is provided and agreed, whiche shall be and shall not bee, as the matter which is stablished doth importe. In the ende of these lawes and decrees, and conclusion of agreement beetweene the king and his subjectes, the Bishoppes doe pronounce all men accurssed who shall go about to breake, infringe or alter the liberties and free customes conteyned in the Charters of common liberties and of the Forest, &c. The preamble to the which Charters is in this manner: Henrie *by the grace of God, &c. To all Archbishoppes, &c. our faithfull subjects greting: know yee that wee unto the honor of Almighty God, and for the salvation of the soules of our progenitors and successours kings of Englande, to the advauncement of holy Church, and amendement of our Realme, of our mere and free will have given and graunted, &c.*

Edwarde his sonne confirmed these Charters graunted by hys *Edward* 1. father, and the thyrde yeare of his raigne helde a Parliament, wherein were made divers statutes, and thus it saith: *These be the actes of King* Edward *sonne to King Henry, at the first Parliament general after his coronation, on the Monday of Easter* Utas, *the thirde yeare of his raigne, by his councel, and by the assente of the Archbishoppes, Bishops, Abbots, Pryors, Erles, Barons, and all the comunaltie of the Realme being thether sommoned, &c.* And for divers considerations named, the booke sayth, *The king hath ordeyned and established these Actes underwritten, whiche he entendeth to be necessary and profitable unto the whole Realme.* And in the first Chapter, *First the king willeth and commaundeth, &c.* The yeare following, other statutes were set downe, by this Authority: *In the presence of certaine reverende fathers, Bishoppes of England, and others of the Kinges councell, the constitutions under written were recited, and after hearde and published before the King and his councell, for asmuch as all the kinges councell, as well Justices as others, did agree that they shoulde bee put in writing for a perpetuall memory, and that they shoulde bee stedfastlye observed.* The next yeare hee made certaine lawes at Gloucester, and hath thus, *For the great mischiefes, &c. Our soveraign lord the king for the amendment of the land, &c. hath provided and established these Actes underwritten, willing and commanding that from henceforth they bee firmely observed within this Realme.*

In the ende of the Chapters of the same Parliament there is an explanation of it, termed, *Expositions upon the Statute of Gloucester,* which begin: *Afterwarde by the king our soveraigne Lorde and his Justices, certaine expositions were made upon some of the Articles above mentioned, &c.* The seventh yeare other statutes were made: the notice of the first was given to the Justices of the Kings Bench, with thys preamble: Edwarde, *by the grace of God King of Englande, Lorde of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, to his justices of his benche greeting. Whereas, &c.* as it folowes in the act. And now in our Parliament at Westminster, after the said treatise *the prelats, erles, barons, and the communaltie of our realme there assembled, &c. we commaunde you that you cause these things to be redde before you in the said bench, and there to be enrolled.* The 9th, the 11th, 13th, in the whiche he had three Parliaments as it seemeth, the first wherin the statute of *Acton Burnel* was made, the second, he helde the parliament at Westminster, wherin very many statutes passed, the thirde was at Westminster, the 18th, the 20th, 21st, 24th, 25th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 33d, and the 34th yere, there were statutes made as appears by the records, in all which these wordes passe of Aucthoritie for enacting and confirmation: *The King hath commaunded. Our soveraigne lorde the king hath ordained. The king chargeth all his justices, uppon their faithes and othes that they owe him, that they shall see this and that executed according to the statutes: It is provided: our soveraigne Lorde the King to abate the power of fellons, hath established a payne in this case, and for asmuch as the king will not that his people should be sodainelye impoverished by reason of this penaltie, that seemeth verie harde to many, The king graunteth. The king and his councell at his Parliament holden at* Acton Burnel *hath ordeined these establishments. Our soveraigne Lorde the king at his Parliament holden at Westminster in the eightenth of his raign, of his special grace and for the singular affection that he beareth unto his prelates, Erles, and Barons, and other of his Realme, hath graunted. Wherefore our soveraigne Lorde the king considering fraude, &c. hath streightly commaunded: our soveraigne Lorde the King in his full Parliamente holden the day after the feaste of the Purification, in the twentith yere of his raigne, by a general councel *hath ordained, and from henceforth hath commaunded to be straightly observed. Our soveraigne Lorde the king at his Parliament after Easter the 21st yeare of his raigne, at the instance of the nobles of his Realme hathe graunted and commaunded, too bee from henceforth firmely observed. We have also ordeined by the advise of our councell at the Parliament of our soveraigne Lorde the King holden at Lincolne in the* Utas *of Saint Hillarie, the twentith yere of his raigne, of his councel it was agreed, and also commaunded by the king himselfe, it is provided by a common accorde: We will and graunt that this statute shall take effect : it as agreed that such a writ of Indicavi, shall not be graunted.* In the 34th yere of his governement, and last statutes the first Chapter, he graunteth in this manner: *No Tallage or aide shall be taken or levied by us or our heyrs in our Realme, without the good will and assent of Archbishoppes, Bishoppes, Earles, Barons, Knightes, Burgesses, and other freemen of the lande.* The fourth Chapter, he sayth thus: *We will and graunte for us and our heires, that all Clarks and laymen of our lande shall have their Lawes, liberties, &c. as when they had them best, and if any statutes have bin made by us and our auncesters, or any customes brought in contrary to them, or any manner Articles conteined in this present Charter, we will and graunte that such manner of statutes and customes shall be voide and frustrate for evermore.* In the sixth Chapter, where there is a curse set for the not performaunce of the premisses, he hath, *In witnesse of which thing we have set our Seale to this present Charter, togither with the Archbishops, Bishoppes, &c. which voluntarily have sworne, that as much as in them is, they shall observe the tenour of this present Charter in all causes, &c.*

Edward 2.

Edward his sonne (as I finde in your printed booke) made many statutes in his first yeare, his ninth, his tenth, his twelfth, his fifteenth, his seventeenth, his eighteenth, in all the whiche he uses the like manner of wordes, as for the most parte be recyted before. As *Our soveraigne Lord the king hath graunted: Our soveraigne Lord the king willeth and commandeth: The king decreeth,* this is added of new. *By the kings councel. Also it is desired that our soveraigne Lorde the King, and the greate men of the Realme do not charge, &c. Our soveraigne Lorde the king intend-*

ing to avoyde and oschew such evil oppressions, &c. By the assent of his prelates, Barons, and other greate estates, hath ordained, &c. It is provided by our soveraigne Lord the King and his Justices, and also graunted unto the Citizens of London, &c. And also *Forasmuch as some points of the statutes heretofore made hadde neede of exposition, our soveraigne Lord the King,* Edward *sonne to king* Edwarde, *desiring that right bee done to his people, at his parliamente holden at Yorke the thirde weeke after the feaste of Saint Michael, the twelfth yere of hys raigne, by the assente of the prelates, Earles, Barons, and communaltye of his Realme there assembled, &c. We will also, that this our ordinaunce shall take effect, &c. But specially be it commaunded on the behalfe of our soveraigne Lorde the king, by the consent of the whole Realme.*

The measure of our soveraigne Lorde the king was made, &c. in the twentith yeare of his raigne, by some of his nobility and Isabel his queene (badde Lords and worse wife), as their doings in other cases after declared. He was imprisoned, and thereupon a Parliament was called, where Edwarde the Kyngs sonne, not yet of the age of fourteene yeares, was elected by the common decree, king in his fathers rome, and in the name of the whole parliament, as it remaynes in some Authors: divers of the cleargye and of the nobilitie were sente to the *quondam* King, to shewe him their determination: who seing no remedie, and smaller hope of recovery of his former estate, renounced wyllingly (when he could do no other) his interest and principality. If you will have this a lawfull and full parliament, I must pray God to kepe us from many of them, bycause of the hardnesse of the example: for the king was badlye murdred, within lesse than a yeare after, and yet you see what words of Aucthority it hath.

Edward 3. Edwarde the thirde helde the crowne fifty yeares and odde moneths, and had in his time 26 Parliaments at the leaste, in some of the whiche there was not above one statute made, and that of no greate importance. In the first Parliament the bookes goe upon certaine petitions and requestes made to him, That is: *the king in the saide Parliament upon such Articles above rehearsed, by the common councel of the prelates, Erles, Barons, and other greate men, and by the communaltie of the Realme there being by* *his commaundemente, hathe provided, ordained, &c.* the same Sessions at the request of the communalty of his Realme, by their petition made before him and his councel in the Parliament, by assent of the Prelates, Erles, Barons, and other great men assembled at the sayde Parliament, hath graunted for him and his heires, &c. and so proceedes to graunt and confirme alwaies the liberties of the greate Charter and the Charter of the Forest, wherof for the most part there is mention first made in everye Parliamente, in all the whiche (fewe excepted) hee uses these wordes or such like, and specially till his 14th yere, in which he had a liberal extraordinary ayde or subsidy graunted hym, *By the assent of his Prelates, Erles, and Barons, and other noble men of his Realme: and at the requeste of the commons,* after many times he puts in, *The consente of the Commons, whole commons, full parliament,* and that chiefelye when as he obtained of them subsidie, taske, fifteenth, disme, or custome, as if you turne the recordes you shall fynd: and yet ofte he names them not at all but hath thus: *Councel and treatie thereupon had with the Erles, Barons, and our wise men of our saide Realme, &c. We considering, &c. have had thereupon deliberation and treatie with the Prelates, and the nobles and wise men assisting us, of whose mutual councel it is ordeyned, &c.* ofte putting in *With the assent of the commons,* oftner, *at their request and petition,* whiche he uses not when they graunted him subsidie, taxe, ayde, custome, fifteenth, tenthes or lone. But then the statutes carried these words, *With the consent of the commons,* whiche they well deserved. And also deedes of congratulation as well as allowance in termes, for like moste liberal, dutifull, and considerate Subjects (I will thinke) willingly did graunte their large contrybutions, no larger than often, nor ofter than needeful considering the divers wars of their prince, they did ninteene times bestowe towardes his charges their mony helpe (if I did put in more, as I suppose I shoulde not lye, so should I not incurre any offence) and that divers of them to continue two yeres, three yeres, and sixe yeres. A newe kynde of willing duty, if you loke how alwayes before, like matters in a maner were perforce extorted from them. In lieu whereof, as a gratious prince thankefully accepting their doings, as good cause he had, gave them at the least nine general pardons, with some exceptions, yet not many. And whereas for the most part the Wolles of this lande before other commodities were most exacted of, in his 36th yeare it was enacted, that no subsidie nor other charge shoulde be sette nor graunted uppon the Wooles by the Marchants, nor by any other from thenceforth, without the assent of the Parliament: rare presidents to finde before the conquest in William Conquerors time, or since in a manner at all till this kings dayes.

Richard 2. Richard the second, his successor, helde even on as his Graundfather began, had almoste, every yeare a Parliament, according to the statuts, that there shoulde bee one yearely at the leaste. In the beginnings of all the whiche, almost the great Charter, and that of the Forest, with all Liberties to holy churches, fraunchises, &c. were granted, stablished, and confirmed, and the authority of passing the actes, is as you have in his predecessors time Edward the thyrde, sometime with one manner of words, and sometime another. He had very many, free and bountiful aydes of his subjects by mony, in number for hys two and twenty yeares time, no whit wanting with his Graundfathers, and likewise by diverse pardons he declared his good accepting of them.

Henry 4. Kyng Henry the fourth, first Erle of Darby, then Duke of Herforde by his father John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten son of king Edward the second, also invested with the title of that Dukedome, no more against king Richards wyll, than against lawe, ryght and justice, did clayme the Crowne, and at London called a Parliament in king Richards name, as much without his direction, as without just authority, and howe far wythout the full partes of an Englishe Parliament, which wee brag of and justly may, I referre mee to the judgement of deeper heades than mine owne. In this Parliament forsooth is thirty-one Articles at the leaste layde to our Kyng Richarde, a shrewd and an unaccustomed president. Well, it was thought by the most parte that he was worthy to be deposed, and provision according was provided. But King Richardes friendes going to bed without candel, when none was to be had, perswaded their maister to yeeld (contented) the Crowne from his heade, whiche otherwise woulde have byn snatched off perforce, and brought the skyn with it. He doth resign, he craves life without raigne, it is libeberally granted, but more liberally broken with hasty and shameful slaughter; as who searches shall find, to whom I rather commit the reading, than I to call to remembrance such undutiful hard dealing, and specially when the Parliament hath any interest in the same, or should be noted with error. This Henrie the fourth raigned thirteene yeares and somewhat more, in whose time there was almost every yeare a Parliament, in all the which for the most parte, first the Charters and liberties be confirmed to all men, and the Actes be thus aucthorized, Henrie *by the Grace of God, &c. of the assent of the Prelates, Dukes, Erles, Barons, and at the instant and special request of the commons of the same Realme, assembled at his Parliament holden at Westminster, &c.* All establishments, confirmations, and makings of statuts in his time, you shall finde still *at the request, ernest instance and prayer of the commons,* yet was he king, as you have hearde, and in the first yeare of hys raigne he had such a heavy taxe graunted him, as it was conditioned it should not be recorded for a president: divers others he reaped the benefit of, and retourned also sundry pardons to the freeing of many of his subjectes.

His sonne Henrie, was Kyng nine yeares and somewhat more, *Henry* 5. and yerely (as it seemes) helde a Parliamente, but hys sixt yeare, in all which wherin the commons were named, he sayth as before, *for himselfe and the Lords he hath at the special instance and request of the Commons in the same Parliament, &c. Hath don to be ordained, &c.* The liberties of holy Churches, the Charters and privileges are enacted and agreed soundely to abide in force. I can not perceive for all his great conquest and warres in Fraunce, that he troubled his Subjectes in a manner at all to speake of, wyth Taxe or Subsidie. That small ayde hee had, rose (as I can gather) of some Tenths, and Fifteenthes, that were graunted him. And yet did he for custome, curtesie, or congratulation sake, also imparte his pardons.

He left his sonne Henrie in his place, being but eighte *Henry* 6. monethes olde, during whose raigne, the Parliamentes were very thicke helde, as in the former times. As thys Prince was very yong at the death of his father, so was he when he came to age, more given to quietnesse and religion, than to worldly affayres or weapons: And therefore it may be gathered, that the nobility and commons stoode not in doubt of the infringing by him of great Charters, and liberties. Wherefore they labored not every Parliament, the confirmation of them; as in his Predecessors time they did: for in his Parliaments wee finde no suche mention made of them, as usually is had before his governement: for making of Lawes, most commonly I see, *Our soveraigne Lord king* Henry *the sixth, at his Parliamente, &c. By the advise and assente of the Lordes spirituall and temporal, and at the speciall request of the commons of the Realme, being in the same Parliament, have done to be made, &c.* There is also, *Our soveraigne Lord King* Henrie, *&c. For the weale of him and of his Realme, by the advise and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of the same Parliament assembled, hath made, ordayned, &c.* This last manner of mencioning the commons, is in the middle of the kings raign, which might proceede of some occasions, which yourselfe maye finde out, if you tourne over the cronicles; (I take it needlesse to be written). In the thirtie-third yeare of his raigne, there was something enacted in a Parliament touching the Lord Richard Duke of Yorke, and also in another, in his thirtie-third yere, concerning the same Prince, which I cannot be perswaded that King Henrie *de mero motu* consented to, I do not understande that he burdened his subjects in a manner at all with exactions, for all his continuall and greate warres in Fraunce, but rather contented himselfe with the losse, and so far, as in less than fortie yeres he forewent the Crowne of Fraunce abroade, and lost his kingdome of Englande at home: And tho by hys friendes he recovered the one againe, yet woulde it not be kept, but hee that received it firste, efte obtayned it, so that Kyng Henrie was deprived the second time not only of hys regalty, but presently of his life.

Edward 4. Edward Earle of March, righte heire of the house of Yorke, was the man that Kinged it in King Henries rome, and so continued it twenty-two yeares, and somewhat more, during which governement he hadde at leaste tenne Parliaments, in all the which hee names his auctority, and the nobilityes advise and consent, and the instance and request of the commons, but only in the Parliamente the thirde yeare of his raigne, wherin he says, *At the Parliament summoned at Westminster, &c. the thirde yeare of king* Edwarde *the fourth after the conquest, divers statutes, &c. By the advise and assent of his Lordes, spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the same Parliament assembled, and by auctority of the same were made, &c.* During which Sessions he had granted him by statute the tonnage and pondage of wines and wayres, not for a yeare or two, but during hys naturall life. In his second yeare he had liberally yeelded him large summes upon his privy Seales: he had also divers fifteenes, loanes, and benevolences. In his first Parliament, Charters, priviledges and liberties were confirmed. But I see no stoare of generall pardons in hys time, although it was and had byn a busye age, by meanes of the quarrel betwene the two great houses of Yorke and Lancaster.

Richard 3.

His brother Richard by the unkinde making away of his nephewes ruled the rost two yeres, two moneths, and a day, whose statutes are enacted, as before, at the requeste of the commons of the same Realme, yet sought hee by all the favourable wayes hee coulde, to purchase hymselfe naturall subjects, though he unnaturally came to the kingdome.

Henry 7.

Henrie the seventh after him obtained the Crowne, (in the beginning as it were by force, next confirmed by the marryage of Elizabeth eldest daughter to Edwarde the fourth), who called divers Parliaments, and in them all takes this course of auctority for enacting of the statutes of the same, *The King our soveraigne lord, Henry the seventh, &c. in the first yere of his raigne, to the honor of God and holy church, and for the common profite of the Realme, by the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same Parliament assembled, and by auctority of the same Parliament, hath done to be made certaine statutes, &c.* He had sundry exactions, subsidies, and benevolences, wherof ensued some dangerous and troublesome civil warres, besides the putting in execution of many penal statutes, more profitable to him, than welcome to those who payde for them. If you loke in Maister Hall the Cronycler, you shall finde more than enough touching the same, and specially so broadely to touch Councellours for doing their princes commaundement in matters lawful, tho in deede (I must confesse) odious to the people. King Henrie being not like to recover a sickenesse had taken him, either by remorse of conscience, or by other occasion it pleased him to conceive, did pardon those matters for the which he could not chose but heare the grievous repining and murmure of his subjects.

Henry 8.

Henrie the eighte followed him, in whose time were made a Bible of statutes, and till the two and twentith of his raigne, he had the very same wordes, as his father used in the beginning of his Parliamentes, and tho then the same still followed not in course, yet the Parliamentes were held of the estates, wherein the commons were one. What subsidies, and aides of money he had, and what and howe many enacted pardons hee gave, nowe to repeate is but losse of time, sith we are come thus farre.

Edward 6.
Queene Mary.
K. Philip.
Queene Elizabeth.

To go thorow with king Edward, queene Marie, king Philip, and our most gracious Princesse hir majestie that now is, as I have with the rest, were burning of daylight.

Sith we have hetherto brought the Parliament, nowe let us shortely gather what wee can of these Collections touching the original Antiquitie and the manner thereof.

First Brute in the yeare of the worlde, 2855, before the yeare of grace, 1108, began the Empire of this Ile. Hee founde it without laws, he made some. Mulmutius, 441 yeres before Christ added more. Gurguintus put a little to. Marcia that noble Queene, about the 360 yeare before Christ confirmed many: and so remayned this lande, governed I suppose without our forme of Parliament, for I cannot perceive there was any state of nobility. The greate Cities and Borowes were long a building, some 300, 400, 500 yeares, one after another, and more: The Shires nether devided, nor inhabited: a nation living in civil warres, thefte and ravyne; barbarous often for want of foresight and lawe, so dispeopled, as hardily there remayned sufficient to manure their landes, and lesse, to defende their Territories. The yeare 51, before our Savyour toke flesh, Julius Cæsar the Romaine made conquest of this region, and anexed it to the Romayne auctority, who had tribute (tho sometime it were denyed) and gouerned by their Captaynes and Emperors, toke the defence of the same upon them, as their often hither coming with armies and building of walles bewene the Scottes, Pictes, and Britons, doth well witnesse, till the 443 yeare of Christes Nativity, at whiche time they neglected the matter, not willing, as it seemed, to buy a trifle too deare, nor dayly to be troubled to come from Rome (but a steppe) to defende them who had no ability to holde their owne feete, nor (as it is to be feared) woulde learne. And although in this time somewhat is indited by Eleutherius the Bishop of Rome to Lucius, who is accepted the first Christened king, yet if you wey the matter well, you shall finde, that will not doe. About the yeare 450, the Saxons and Angles being sente for, entred, and loke howe many kingdomes they erected, how long in warres before, how they continued, how they were brought to one Monarchie, and the sequele then, and you shall finde there was no leysure for Parliaments. In reading, I have gathered many floures out of Maister William Lambarts garden, a gentleman after my verdict, tho unknowne to mee, for hys payneful, rare, and learned Collection, worthy to bee knowne; and then (no doubt,) of all well disposed to learning and knowledge of the antique customes of our Country, to be greatly honored: I could make many Nosegayes for you oute of his well set plantes: but you are yong enough to gather them your selfe, and I will yelde that to Cæsar which is Cæsars due, tho perhaps I would be glad to be worthy to be Cæsar my selfe. Yet thus much I will put you in minde what you shall have in Maister Lambart, for the seasons of the Saxons and Angles kingdomes: They devided the Shires, the worlde is theirs, they parted into hundred and weapon-tackes (the speeche is olde English) Folkmoot and Sheremote was appointed by them, compounded Saxon words, of the which there were two uses in the Saxons time, for there were two sortes therof, one in the same nature that we have *le Countie Courte*, the other, *le Turne del Vicont*. S. Edward in his lawes appointed also two kinds of Folkmotes, which were given notice of by the ringing of belles, in olde Englishe called *Mothel*. The first was when any unaccustomed peril or daunger was doubted to the common wealth: And then were the hundreds and Weapontackes within the Shrivalties gathered together. And also wythin themselves the Burgesses, of Cities walled, Borowes and fortresses of strength (to the which liberties and priviledges were graunted, bicause their force was better able to keepe together and defende the people in the tyme of Hostilitie) assembled to councell what way were best to be taken in such times. Also in the same Folkmote, which ofte times is named the Common councel, the subjectes of this Land did their fealty, and were sworne as here before divers times. Touching the othe to the prince, I have recyted to you: And for sufficient proufe hereof, the Londoners of late yeres have used the worde, and at this day directly in effecte kepe the matter, when they assemble themselves, as ofte as neede requires, to their common councel, the Folkemote in deed. The seconde Folkemote was for the electing of Sherifs, and officers under them, for taking order that the watches were kepte, and great heed had to scath fire. In the Saxons governement there were at the last, two kinds of regiments, by the which the country was directed: the one, the West Saxons, the other the Marches: who as they were proceeded of two nations, so each held the rights received from their ancestors. The Saxons kept themselves kings here, tho with much ado and great continual slaughters, not only with the ancient inhabitants of this land, but with themselves, one king with another, till the yere 1018, during which time you see many ordinaunces established, but how far from the way of our Parliament your own discretion will conceive, if you have good consideration of the times, people, and maner of lawing. Canutus the Dane, the yere 1018, was absolute king of the whole Realme, whiche the Danes claymed firste by conqueste of Swaynus their king, father to Canutus: and next by agreement made betwene Edmund Ironside and him: his laws you have: see what you find there. So great conquerors do not commonly grant such large freedomes to subjects, to have interest with them in the common welth, neither yet do bind themselves to so hard termes, to establish nothing without the consente of the other two states. Far unlike it is, that of Danes he had full supplie to furnish the whole state of nobilitie, and the whole Borowes and counties: But graunt he had, shall I beleeve he would set down another maner of governement than the Danes do at this day, and almost have alwaies maintayned, which is, all things to passe by the kings auctority and the nobilities, without the thirde estate. He was not constrained at any time againste his will: for the poore Englishe nation, God knowes, were laide low enough. The Danes raigned not here above twenty-five yeres, allowing Canutus the first king. Yet would I faine learn, whether by Parliament and general consent of the three estates thereof, the excessive Tributs were graunted, and the exaction called the *Dane gelt* which the English people only even from the beginning of the raigne of the Danes were compelled yerely to pay to their kings, was Parliament wise enacted.

Saint Edwards lawes, if you loke over, you shall finde nothing to serve your tourne. The Conqueror William in the yeare 1066 obtained the Crowne: how streight a hande he helde on the subdued inhabitauntes of this Ile, is well known. Till the twentith yere of Henrie the thirde I heare of no Parliament, unlesse you will have all consultations Parliamentes, as in the fortith of Henry the 8, I see a statute made for one Richarde Strode a Burges in that Parliament, for that hee was condemned in 160 pounde at certaine Courts of the Steynery, and by auctority thereof imprisoned for the same, bycause he had (as it was aleaged) greatly hindred by his speeches in the Parliament their liberties and privileges. Upon this complaint to the three estates, the Act was made for his discharge, in the end wherof an enquiry is appointed touching the digging of tinne: and the letter is thus: *Be it enquired for our soveraigne Lorde the king, that whereas at the Parliament holden at Crokerentor before Thomas Denys deputye to sir Henrie Marney knight, warden of the Steynery, &c.* Here you have your word otherwise applyed than we accustomably do. So that the worde carries not awaye with it alwayes the fulnesse of the matter. Some would long sith have comprised in it, how King Henrie the thirde was by armes constrained to do what he would not. You have recited to you what auctority he uses in enacting: you also have, and likewise I have gone thorow all the Parliaments of the rest of the Kings, which I have thought needefull: the exact overloking wherof, and due noting of the forme of the nobility in time past, after the Danish manner, great sway beares in this common welth: the aydes, subsidies, exactions, and customes generally so oft consented to, with better willes, and more quietnesse, than in former ages: the number of penal statutes and generall pardons of the Prince, will disswade the Antiquity of our thirde voices, which many do defende, and also will shewe a lighte of the admitting the third person in this trinity. I cannot meete with the name of the Knight of a Shire or Burges of the Parliament, or any such men, mentioned tyl now of late dayes. In the twenty-seventh yere of Edward the thirde, in the beginning of a Parliament he says thus: *Wheras good deliberation had with the Prelates, Dukes, Erles, Barons, and greate men of the Countries, that is to say, of every country one, for all the counties, and of the commons of Cities and Burgesses of our Realm, &c.* The fifte yeare of Richard the seconde there is a statute, *That if any Knight of the Shire, Citizen of Citie, or Burges of Borow, did not uppon sommons come to the Parliament, not having lawful excuse, should be amerced.* *Anno* 12 of the same king you have an act for the Kings wages. *Anno* 7 of Henrie the fourth it is enacted touching their elections. *Anno* 1 of Henrie the fifth you have the like for chosing of Knights and Burgesses. In Henrie the sixts time and after, there are sundry Acts concerning the same matter. If you consider the late enacting of these things, you shall finde later use of our newe Parliament, than of some is thought: for I thinke Knightes and Burgesses never coulde nor might appeare in Councel before they were autorised, and the maner of their apperance knowne. It may be that you and some other who shall mete with this my proceedings in this matter, will marvell why I make so long a preamble, and that in such forme, to so shorte an advise which I sende you. Againe, the world is many times so aukwardely disposed, as it will deeme the worste of mens meanings. And leaste the repeating of these things to you should of *Malbouch,* who never sayde well, be conceived that I shote to disgrace that noble, grave, and necessarie thirde state of Parliament (whiche if I were so lewdly disposed, I never were able to touch) I first protest before him who knowes the secretes of all mens workings, it is furthest from my thought. The cause of this my long recitall of one thing and other, grewe of three parts. One, to shewe how happily we obtained that rare interest in the common wealth, where the monarchial governement strikes the stroke, therby to thank God, wythout whom far lesse matters cannot stande. Secondly, that we should not be forgetful of the great, gracious, liberall, and continual favour of the Princes of this land, who have not only consented freely to the confirmation of this third estate, but more than that, never undoubtedly repented the allowaunce therof, as well may be proved, for that they never cavilled therin. What contented mindes of late ages, the Kings and Queenes of this Realme have carried in matters of Parliament, when things have not fallen out currant to their expectations, I thinke not only all Parliament men, but the whole country knowes. And if I desired to picke thanks the most allowed way, which is, in telling truth, I coulde make a long libel of hir majesties (that now is) particular patience, favor, great suffering, and well accepting of matters of Parliament: but I will leave it to a better workman to be booked by it selfe, bycause it will aske a great volume. Thirdly, to shew what a Jewel you have of this most free, general, and universal consultative kind of Lawmaking, therby to be careful, not only to kepe and preserve that odde grace granted to no nation, but to our selves, in such like regiments, but also in all respects dutifully to put to our indevor to be worthy members of so great a councell, I will but remember you of a fewe lynes of Plato, who never knewe England, and muche lesse the English Parliament, in his booke of his common welthe he makes mention of three kindes of rule, viz. *Monarchia*, *Aristocratia*, and *Democratia*. Where the Prince doeth all (sayes he) lawes shall be made as best shall like him, without regarde to others: where nobility, and a certain number of the greatest holde the helme, the ship will be directed to what haven they please. If decrees and ordinaunces lye in the multitudes heads, they will be popular. See you these imperfections for the want of combyning these three kinds togither, whiche done, and no lawe passe without all their consents, who shall have cause to complaine? who is exempted out of this common wealth? who is wronged or put to the wall? who agrees not to his owne wealth or want? *O Anglia* *terque quaterque beata,* that doth injoy that blessed privilege, which to maintaine, as I beseeche all men, so to my best I will proceede to advise you, of whom I have most tender care, to take such hede in all your actions touching the same, as it by you, may be *(Pro virile)* strengthned, you experienced and well deserving therof, and I joyfull to heare of the considerate discharging of your duety.

First is to be considered what your auctority is, and howe farre it doth reache; from whence you had the same, what trust they have committed to you, and what they expect at your hands that elected you therto: Then by what means you shall best discharge, without the indignation of the Prince or misliking of the nobility, that trust, to the profit of your electors. The former parts are easyer to be set downe than the latter pointes, drawen into assured advices, and unfallible precepts. But bycause (as I sayde in the beginning) I am to write to you, who I am sure will take in good meaning my well determined remembraunces, rather than scrupulously picke out the insufficiency therof (which I must confesse is great yet not wholly so fruitelesse and unfurnished, but that you may gather some fewe Apples out of a small Orchard). Our Parliament consisteth of three estates: First, the Prince; the second, the nobility, such as are admitted by their succession, whose auncestors have bin of the house, or the king, doth call, and the Bishoppes: all the which without speciall licence must be personally present: and if they be by any meanes absent, they give theyr voyces to some one they best like, who is residant. The third of the Commons, wherin is comprised the yonger sonnes of the nobility, and in a manner all the heires apparante, very few except, the fathers living, all the gentry and the whole rest. It is thus furnished: there are two Knightes chosen of every county but in Wales, where the Shires have but one, and of every Citty and Borrowe Corporate two Burgesses, fewe excepte, who of late time were made corporations, and also the Cities and Borowes in Wales, who follow as their counties doe. Of these knightes and Burgesses is your thirde house. Wythout the consent of these three bodies no newe invocation hath power to deprive the subjectes of this lande, of life, laweful inheritance, or goods. The autority therof doth stretch to them all, to take away life, inheritaunce, yea of the Crowne of this Realme, and every mans chattels, and hath full power to make and alter lawes, and to use the English phrase, the lawe lies in their hands; the Prince is sole of himselfe, and enacteth nothing alone: the nobilitye and Bishoppes are upon the pointe of eightie, and rather under, sometyme more or lesse, as some may be under age, and some Bishoprikes voyde, who offering a lawe, doe make none of themselves. The thyrde and great body of this councel consisteth (the king, nobility and Bishops foreprised) of all the inhabitauntes of the country, and therefore of a mightye number of members: yet can it stablishe no ordinaunce absolutly *suo jure.* But see the great and to other people untasted of benefit of this lawe making, as I have saide before: shall one enacte? no; shall two estates binde the third? as little; shall the whole three stricke it uppe? God forbid else: for (as before) who can complayne when his agrement is in? and who denyes, when all men say yea? So when the greatest number of the Lords, and the most of the commons consente, tho some be far off, yet it doth importe general ratification: else how shall you labor? in vaine: for it is not possible that so many should directly hit uppon one minde and judgement in things argued; we can have no more that just Harmonye of concente, that the 77 Interpreters of the Byble had, and yet no doubt (I truste) the best for the most part taken. Your autority you see, now go forth: who put you therin? The lower or common house of Parliament standeth of 442 persons, 78 Knights, and 326 Burgesses for England: and for Wales (Monmouth Shire accompted no part thereof) 12 Knights, and as many Burgesses: for the ports, which are now 7 accompted, fourteene, which are called *Barones portium,* who are chosen by the whole commons of the Realme, under which name is understood (as you have before) not only the artificer, the Begger, the yeoman, the husbandman, all and the whole, all of those sorts; but also the universall gentry and many of the nobilitye of Birth, who are not Barons of the higher house. The Knightes are elected by the county, and should be inhabitaunts in the same: the Burgesses in the corporations, which by statute are appointed to be dwelling Burgesses in the towne from whence they are sente. So that it is playne, that you have your aucthority of the greatest in number, the mightiest *de se* in force, and by whome the Prince is maintained, the country from age to age manured and peopled, and the Lordes remaine Lordes, whose rentes and services could not be due without them. Now thinke with your selfe what confidence these persons have in you, when they appointe you in this Rome of enacting or disanulling. Your number of Parliament men you see in your house are fewe to the huge multitude of them whose consents are bounde by your agreemente. What thinke they when they chose you? Firste that you are religious, wherein is comprised many parts, as to feare God and to be charitable. And tho there be many other points which particularly might be recited touching religion, yet in the love and feare of God and the Charity towardes a mans neighbour I conceive all other braunches to hang: next, that you do entirely favor your Country and tender the welth therof: thirdely, that they are perswaded of your wisedome, grave judgement, experience, and diligent consideration: fourthly, that you will not be abused with fayre words, terrified with threatnings, corrupted with brybes of the great ones: fiftly, not wrested by giftes of equals, nor moved with the affection of the frendship of them: sixtly, not frette with the Canker of malice and envy, nor subject to sodain fury, the overthrower of all good procedings, which will procure you carelesse of your trust: Seuenthly, not expecting commendation by eloquence and Oratory words, rather than by substance of direct matter, reason, and truth, but above all things, wholely and onely hoyse up your sayles to serve in all respectes that body wherof you are a member.

They commit unto your considerations their libertyes, not only of person but of living, their goods, their lands, their lives, their attainders of bloud, all that they have, shall have, or can have, their wives and children already borne, their posterity to come, whose inheritaunce to accrew by discente and honor, from auncient predecessors to bee invested with, they yeelde into your hands, and not only to bind them hereafter to stand to your doome and decree from time to come, to allowe of your possitive direction not alreadye passed, but also submit themselves and all before recited, unto what you shall dispose of it, with a loking backe consideration whereby you may nerely touche them: the confidence placed in you is so great trust, *Iterum iterumque Cunctando,* as Quintus Fabius Max. did, to be thought of in this case. Now let us see by what meanes you shall discharge this trust, without the indignation of the Prince, and misliking of the nobility. First touching the nobility and prince, *Qui vadit planè vadit sanè.* Take this matter in hande Virgin like, in the simplenesse of your minde, and well meaning of all things. Take heede of two faces in one hoode: deale with reverence to the prince, with duty of betternesse to the Lordes, and with waking care with your fellowes. I may not deny but perchaunce some Prince may be willing to procure the passing of a law more beneficiall in particular to him selfe, than pleasaunt to those who are represented in your house. And also the nobility may do the like in their own causes: may you not duetifully repugne such demaundes? may you not argue the inconvenience is like to ensue? may you not diswade? may you not boldely yeelde your no? Yes assuredly, and incur no displeasure at all. And although you may bee frowned on by the Prince and others, yet they will knowe you well enough, commende you in secrete, gladde to win you to imploy in service, judge you wise, honest, and one worthy to be trusted, and not a Butterfly, a sixe weekes Birde: Wheras if you follow their humors, if their turnes be served, if you play the hireling, they perhap will smyle upon you for the time, never trust you, but in the ende shake you off. Princes be glad of traytours of their enemies subjectes: Yet what Prince would have any of his owne people so? or will trust the others in any action, but to serve a present turne? As Demades aunswered the Ephores very well, who moved him to commit the leading of certaine Souldiers to a traytor: you shall pardon me (quoth he) for trusting hym with mine, who hath betrayed his owne. If you will sooth and juggle, you shall have John servingmans rewarde, yea at the princes hand and the nobilities. Altho possibly you have hearde the tale of this well shotten John, yet thus it was: A gentleman not best experienced, stoode well in hys own conceyte for judgemente (as commonly the simplest do) his chaunce was to entertayne a servaunte wiser in deed than the maister, but too playne a dealer to profit himself, and therefore no worldely Doctor. Thys Gentleman taking his opinions conceived, always to be infallible, would breake them with his man, not so much to conferre for his advise, as to set out the ripenesse of his owne capacitye, who perceiving his Maister was in a manner alwayes in a wrong Boxe, and building Castels in the ayre, or catching Hares with Tabers, coulde not sooth such unlikely toyes, whereby he must seeke him a newe habitation: who woulde kepe such a contrarying Knave? reporte goes this man is out of service, and why? forsooth the cause is recited. Maister John a currifauour meaning to thrive where the other coulde not, (among hys Emes and kindred, taken for a proper nurtured hynd), sekes out this gentleman with very low cursey, gyves his worship the time of the day, demaundes if his worship wants a servant, and worship and Maistership hath much adoe with him. This cleane speeched manne is entertained, the maister confers nothing with John, but John playes the John, he highly commends his Maisters devises, he prayses hys judgements: what so he speakes, be it never so fonde, John sweres doth procede of a good wit. As Stephen the foole of Huntington was wonte to saye, time teacheth experience, far he goes that never returnes, and very simple he is, that dayly swalloweth flies and will not learne to keepe hys lippes together. This gentleman began to finde that John did guyle with him, whome too prone, he brought into a very fayre meadowe, and as it were out of a great study demaunded of John how to most profit he might employ the same: John musing what to answere: his Maister followed, now (quoth he) can I tell how to reape greate benefit hereof, Salt is at a high price, I will sowe the Meadowe therewith, if God sende me a good croppe, I shall be a made man. John hereat clappes his handes on his thighes, Jesus, Maister (saith he) you shall drinke before mee, for I thought uppon the like matter. Here is flattering John taken: by whom? by a simple man, by one who delighted in his musicke: he pluckes his Coate over his eares, he knaves Maister John, and tournes him out of the doores like a Rascal marchant. If you play Johns parte with Princes, whose experience and wisedome of themselves is great, and much by councel, do you thinke to avoyde Johns rewarde? If you John it with the nobility, do you deeme them children? will not nobility followe in deede the noblenesse of bloud, to abhorre and detest suche shamelesse shifting Jackeryes? yes assuredly, to your utter infamy and overthrowe. But take the other course, and truth may be blamed, but it will never be shamed. It may be loked bigge on, but it will not be out of countenaunce: it may bee shut out of the dore, but it wyll bee sente for in againe and set at the table with the best, when curteous Maister John shall be glad to take the leaving of the Pages: and hereof assuredly perswade your selfe, unlesse your minde be so far possessed with mischiefe, to thinke that Falcons can feed off carrion, or Dolphyns delight in puddels, which as by nature they do abhorre, so do Princes and nobility by long succession nourished and bredde in honour, rejecte and contempne all suche servile disceyte, and treasonable shifting.

Now are we come to consider howe to answere the office your trusters put you in, not for any perticular profit, but for the whole common good. *Hoc opus hic labor est.* But if those good parts be in you which they perswade are, as is recited, the burden is soone discharged, to all your commendations, wealth, and quietnesse. First they accompt of you as one religious, &c. and after as you have heard. As touching that part I presume not to deale, bicause the Cobler may not passe the shoe: but with feare I will reverently with all good meaning embrace the sounde and perfecte opinion of the Learned, which for the two parts, the one duty to God, and the other to a mans neighbour, lies open to all menne by Devines, the latchets of whose shooes I counte not my selfe woorthy to unloose. Marcus Tullius Cicero, let me remember you of, and of his treatise *de Amicitia*, which being a boy, (as Scollers do) I did unwillingly acquaint myselfe with. He makes not (as I take it) above foure payre of friendes, whose names being so common, to repeate again, were but spending of inke and paper. He commends, when men would so far (as I may terme it) beleve in other for friendship sake, as they drew cuts who should go to the racke first: and not so onely, but the one would face down a lye, to be tormented to save the other. Tulli sayde true, for he saide it Historically. I am sory the Paganisme may cast in our noses foure rare examples, and we not able to afourde them one such couple. If you had such a one yourselfe as Eurialus was to Nisus, Damon to Pythias, Orestes to Pylades, and Theseus to Perithous, were one to another, you coulde not but make of such a jewel. And if you would beguile him, who should have the losse? your selfe only, in respecte of all extremity among the best, (by whom I meane the vertuous and not the Turks Bassaes) for why? ingratitude shold rather deserve quartering, than clipping of coine. This friendship for such affiance and trust betwene party and party is rare, is commendable, is not to be found, and yet dependeth upon particular action betwene two: it is determyned betwene them, that is, at the death or absence of either, of both, and then so far as well wishing may extend. But see what the commons of Englande put in your handes, when you are chosen a spokesman for them. They end not with their lives that make you a Parliament man, but with the perticulars, and all in all that I named before. Wyll you have more than all given you, of him that demes well of you? you cannot. Do they store up in you by trust conceived, what depends upon them (as it is recited) it semeth so: judge your selfe. Will you go to the Law of nature, to the Law of God, to the Law of Princes, to the Law of Confederats? will not all condemne you if you juggle? I have found it so. Although in very deede some men accept juggling for an English worde in good part, yet I never understoode it in Chaucer or olde English, neyther in the conscience of the professors of Charity or well dealing: part the wordes at your pleasure, enter to Ethnickes or to Christians. Here is the warre, here is the daunger, here is both your credits, that is, the electors theirs and yours, upon a mum chaunce, (pardon me if I offend in wordes, I have playde at the dice). If you discharge your truste well, they are in your debt, and they well may vaunte of the perfection of your execution, not more that you have done a thing commendable in general, than that they have chosen in perticular, so sufficient a member in so great a cause: here is a good Harmonie, the well and true singing of which song makes all men merry at midnight, at all times, in all things, and alwayes, not now only present, but to come, yea those who never smelt of the matter. If you go a trewanting, if you play Legerdemayn, if you will be bridled, if you gape for ambition, if you play the Mongrel, if fayre words abuse you, if carelesnes make you hold no hand of your doings, if fury make you dronk, if affection blinde you, hereof will proceede not only to your trusters and theirs now borne and unborne, (I use the word still, bycause I knowe not how so rightly to hit the minde of your choosers who commit trust in you) *Ploratus* and *Stridor dentium*, but the same to you and yours, in like predicament, although some present outward shew may make you thinke the contrary. And therefore what I have gathered of others, for *Præter auditum nihil habeo,* I will follow, which and God graunt, you may receive as much benefit thereof, as I desire, if you want from me, the faulte is not mine, you have the best I can upon the maner of wryting of letters. I perswade with my selfe you cannot possibly play the spider wyth these my barren flowers, tho it were in May or June. If you make any hony of them, I will be the gladder to go to my grave *In consummatione ætatis mei,* for that to you and to my country, (two parts of my greatest care) I shall be assured some benefit will redowne by the reliques of my collections, whiche I never tended for my owne prefermente, so muche as for the advauncement of the common wealth, as is to be gathered by my beggery, which perhaps I might better have withstoode, if I could have given my selfe *Adulari*, and *Sycophantari*. Your countryes welfare must alwayes be your onely and greatest care. The florishing whereof is the Princes strength and joylity, the nobilities quietnesse and greatnesse. For as a King cannot King it, without people, nor Lordes Lord it without Tenauntes, no more can nations live in common welths without the higher authority: The musicke of which three joyned and agreing in one, doth make the olde one-legged man hop for joy, and the white heares to dye in peace. See how God hath given to all men the liking of the land and soyle whereout they are bred. I will not speake of delicate France, of fat England, of fruiteful Italie, of careful governed Spayne, of wanton Germany, and other like countries, wherin we have not onely more than sufficient to feed and cloth ourselves with, besides many nice and superfluous delights, but never dered with extremity either of cold or heate, or for want of civil rule to condemne our quietnesse. But go to the naked *Ethiopes* in *Afrike,* whose sowty couler and cave dwelling, declare the persecution they suffer by heate, banning and cursing the sunne going down who leaves them for all the shifts they can make, as smoking browne bread newe drawne out of the oven, their homely diet serpents flesh, with a fewe starved cattel whiche they have in estimation as theyr lives, naming their children by their names and not after theyr fathers, for that they acknowledge the sustentation of their beyng, of them, and for the same, live in continual warres among themselves. I count not thické Englishe Beefe, or Bacon, neither yet the Licor whiche presently eyther they must quench their thirst with or dye, the wyne of *Orleaunce.* Not far from these faire babes dwell the Tawny Moores the *Azanegies,* who feed not to fill their bellies, but measure their hunger by the stoare of victual which most barenly and scarcely theyr Country yeldes them. Your *Acradophagi,* as fayre as goodman *Negro,* is pleased to leape at Saint John Baptists locust, and contents himselfe without chaunge with that viandrize. These people live not above fourty yeares, and in fine moste pitifully are consumed with flying Lice naturally breeding in themselves. Also the *Icthiophagi,* birdes of the same bushe of *Ethiope,* who live only by fishe, not for Religion as Charterhouse Monkes, but as hungry Dogges, without sauce, for necessity. These and other infinit numbers under that scalding heaven and insterile soyles suffering their purgatorie in this world, yet home is homelyest with them, they will not away. God and nature hath so combyned and chaunged their likings to their country, as they will say with the Scottish man when he comes to London, or to the fayrest Town in Europe, that (Edenborowe except) it is the godlyest place he ever set his foote in: even so will the nations recited not sticke to fall out with hym that will disprayse their dwellings, although as there is statelier buildings than Edenborowe, so is there more pleasaunt clymates and fertyler grounds than *Ethiope:* I may not goe thorowe with so many southren people, as by bookes I could recite unto you, for spence of time, and chiefly when a fewe may suffice. But now let me lightlye runne over some particulars of the unmerciful sternenesse of the Northern Pole, as heavy to the inhabitaunte feelers for extremity of the cold, as the parching sunne importable to the ugly Moores, and yet Country quart, is good quart. The urchins will not out of their Denne, they will rather live in native lande with these discomodities following, than change for the Paradice of Fraunce, or the Kitchin of England. Firste go no further than to Islande, a corner at hande, which in *Solstitio Hiemali,* enjoyes small sunne, but the people there for that time at our noone dayes (if they have no candel) may play at blindman buffe, their colde is horrible, their mansions Conney fashion, their drinke is running Water, weake califaction for such Wether as is there: Their breade, dried fishe, Corn and Licor, not fit for Ladyes. But if they happe of a candels ende, some course barley Cantel, and a sope of small beere, they are so gallant, and well pleased, that they desire not my Lord Maior of London to bee their kinsman. I will not talke of Norway, nor of Sweden, Finlande, or Gothland, nor those adjacent countryes to Denmarke, in the warmest whereof wee Englishe olde beaten souldiers would oftener blow our fingers than wash our faces. And like to Naples, the Paradice of Italy, in comparison to *Muscovia,* parte of *Ruthinea, Temthia, Bothinia, Lappia, Tornia, Striphinia, Finmarchia,* and *Biarmia,* in the which, such bitter windes, such great hilles of Frost and Snow, such thicke uncomfortable clowdes, such large nightes of halfe a yeare long, such seldome sights of that comfortable gentleman Maister Phebus, would make a man lay the key under the dore, and wishe the devil to heate the country, and the sunne to warme them. What should I tell you of the incredible operation of that country, congeling of the most violent and as it is unnaturall (in respect of forcible moving) of the windes, the terror that ordinarye tempestes and lightnings bringeth, no lesse to be beleved than liked? what of that penetrating cold that boring out the inhabitants eyes, gives them the sauce of hunger, *Optimum Condimentum,* and small soppes to their dinner, flees their skinnes of without edge tooles, makes them blow away their noses in their napkins, and yet plauges them with catars, rewmes, and will you have the English worde truely, the playne snotte and snivil, so as though the nose be gon, they must wipe where it was, or else some unsaverly matter will runne in their mouthes. I overpasse a great company of incommodities, the lest of the which would sende many of our nice faulte finders once a day into a slow of Cowe Casins, and glad they had it too. All these inconveniences and wantes, huntes not the borne whelps to seeke new footyng, neither makes them the lesse careful with manlike war to defend their indevors. Thus see you barbarous Ethnickes, wilde Christians, and superstitious nations at this present if you search their professions, to the whiche (I meane not to digresse) to leave theyr native country. Well I tell you, but yet I must further, bycause I cannot omitte those country lovers, whose memory, well meaning writers to us, have sent us, for a token to followe. I cannot runne over all their actions: some I have perused and more forgotten, but to a wylling minde, a fewe honest examples may endure to the contrary. I shall but *Lateram lauare,* tho I were never so curious, an unprofitable office to mee, and as little beneficiall to my Boocke. But have at you, (whych is no fayre playe as olde gamsters reporte) wyth such matter as I finde in auncient writings. At the laying of the first stone of *Rome,* Romulus made an Edicte that no person shoulde passe the appointed boundes of the Cytie, which Remus smyling at, and comming out of the same, Fabius Celer Centurio with a spade slew hym, wholly respecting the stablishment of the common wealth, and not regarding the peril mighte ensue hys rashe stroke. Looke upon Horatius Cocles valiantnesse, and great venturyng of hymselfe in the wars, Porsenna Kyng of the *Tuscanes,* the resolution of Mutius Sceuola for the dispatching of the same Prince, the whole house of the Romains Fabians in the warres againt Veranius, were utterlye extinguished, one childe except, whose lacke of yeares preserved his life, being more beneficial to him and his posterity, than the country zeale of the rest. By meanes wherof they yelded their dead Carcases. Decius Muries the elder Consul with Manlius Torquatus in armes against the Latines, had both one dreame, that those people woulde be vanquished, whose captaine shoulde be lefte dead in the field. They brake one with another, and agreed, that whiche of their bands did first give place, the leader must vow himselfe to the infernal ghostes, contented to dye: which Decius chance was to do, and therby with great slaughter of the enimies, the gaine was the Romaines. Publius Decius Muries his son did the same. Titus Manlius Torquatus stroke off his own sons head, for putting in venture by fight contrarie to commaundement, the souldiers of the Common welth: The prisoner Mar. Attilius Regulus his returne to Affricke to Barboras tyrannie, wyth his considerations alledged in the Senate, which induced him thereto. Publius Scipio Nasica chosen Consull of *Rome* with unluckie shew of the *auspices* comming, would in no respect take upon him the dealing of the office, doubting the inconvenience might hap to the Empire, not by his want of abilitie, or good will, but by evyl fortune to the state, and contrarie aspects of the superior Planets, so tender a mynde he had of his Countrie. Sylla surnamed the happy, for all his revengeful mynde, when he had obteyned his owne will, and helde hard hand on his countrie, was content to restore the old governement of *Rome* and to die a private man. Quintus Curtius, his willing decay for *Rome:* Codrus the *Athenian* king for his people: also Themistocles that countrieman, for all the injuries he had receyved at home, woulde rather willinglye drinke his owne bayne, than see his natyve lande harmed: Melsiades of the same breede at *Marathon* against the invincible shoal of the Persians: Epaminondas the *Thebane,* and thousandes more, for their wilful, entire, only, and avowed love to their countries, have susteyned more travayle, suffered greater torment, dyed assured deathes, and with better contented mindes, than men of this age can beleeve, to bee able to bee endured by mortlings which we all are. If Paynimes did go so far *in supremo gradu,* looke to your selfe somewhat, who are a Christian, and so farre credited as Parliament menne are. They expect in you gravitie, wysedome, experience, and diligent consideration. Part of the which, as they be onely the giftes of God, as wisedome and gravitie; so experience and diligent consideration, be the confirmers that strengthen, and the artificers that beautifie their work, and proceede of payne taking, and good disposition of the minde. The foremost two bee the most beneficialst Ladies wyth their acquaintance, and the other handmaydes, or rather fellowe dames, so necessarie, as they cannot bee devided, furnishe most commodiously the place where they come. These foure met in one man, make a happie person in particular, and where they joyne in Lawe makers, there must needes bee a flourishing Commonwealth. What inconvenience doth followe, if you shoulde pipe after other mennes whistles, induced thereto by a busie treble string, or a slight Scottishe Jygge? in one respect I have already tolde you, that is, howe maister John will be thought of by the Prince and nobilitie. Nowe see what harme lightes thereby on those, who put their confidence in you, and what a John you shall be made and thought of the whole world. If you serve the Princes turne, hee findes no fault: if you broke for the Lordes, they have no losse, but they will take you still for a John, if agaynste your trust you be wonne. In this seconde parte, if you daunce drunkenly, you will breake your shinnes, and betray your trusters, to whom you are bounde by all the laws possible. If all the Knights and Burgesses in Parliament were Ulisseses, the Syrenes might fall to a newe occupation. But of that huge multitude that came to the warre of *Troye,* he was taken the odde manne for witte and judgement. If but one Ulisses coulde scape those fiendish monsters, and so few Ulisseses in so great an armie, what perill is to be feared to fall upon our Common wealth, if many Syrenes, or any at all shoulde be in the trade of our whole trafficke of welth and welfare. They allured unto them by all pleasant meanes the passengers, to spoyle them for their owne direct and particular gaine: if you sing their songs, you are brought to it to please and to profit others, the acte in them is not so discommendable, but you shall be the John, and rewarded at the seconde hande: your faulte is greater than the Syrenes, who harme but the present persons for their owne lucre: you, present, absent, and posteritie; you cut large thongs out of other mens lether: you fleese not, but you fley: you write not lawes with Milke, but bloud: you sende not the Pyper to make poore men daunce in the countrye; but the Hangman to tye up the rich, and take from the needy no more but all they have: and thus muste your trusters suffer for other mens pleasures, who never after will trust you, knowing you are such a mercenarie. The Parliament Sirene if he be of the Lordes breede, as manie times in your house you have of their children, if of the familye of gentry, assure your selfe he is a Basterd : if hee loke never so bigge feare him not, he is a Coward : if he florish with never so fayre a tayle, he is an Asse. Noble and gentlemans bloud, will not be won against his duety, and specially where it touches his country, neither with honor, threatnings, great Territories, much calling, gay apparel, nor a ship full of red Ruddocks. A valiant minde doth detest such chaffe. A wise man will see the infamy of the facte, and with both his hands kepe his face from such a wounde. Who then must be your Parliament John, if you have any? some durte daubers sonne, or Coblers brat, or such like whelpe of a worthy kenel, who wyll play Cat after kinde, do the best you can : he is *Camelionte mutabilior*, yet for his harte the pretie pricke cannot be white : he lives by ayre (a food of a small substance) and he is of small contynuing, hee is Proteus Cousyn Germayne when he falles in hand with his matter. But mark how like Jacke lokes the father, his eye shewes the relicks of his thoughts, his countenaunce is forced, his gesture not natural, if his speech be not learned without booke, for the most parte he hacks it hardly oute, he sweates, there is no joy in his face, he feares how he shall be taken, he lokes as he were scarde wyth Hobgoblyn. But what will you more? tho Maister Morice-dauncer be dronke, yet will he daunce till he sweate for a clap of the backe of the chiefe man of the parish, tho he be the worse for it as long as hee lyve : even so this your Morice footer shakes his Belles among you, hoping hee makes good musicke, as the foole with the Towne Morisshers, forgetting his maisters horse collers be robde of their trinckets : if he ring for the prince he layes on loade, if for the nobility, he shakes both legges at once, he commends liberality, he prayses mercy, he extolles just execution of lawes, he matches religion where it should be, he soundes out zealous care on poore subjects, he preserves deligent watches for the enemy, he forgettes not to tell what a vertue frugality is in the highest. All these and many more good taches as may be, the King and Lordes are at full furnished with. He hath bin forsooth perhap at Cambridge and learned the fragments of a little Sophistrie, wherwith he with his glosing tong and white studied wordes, may move many well meaning Gentlemen, who for wante of deepe judgemente may say yea to their own prejudice, and the gravest heads without diligent heed may be brought to yeelde to consent to matters they would be ashamed of upon ripe consideration, whiche inconvenience, if it happen, what mischiefe shall fall to your whole state? who so blinde doth not see? When thys fine shaking tripper hath done what he can, I have tolde you the thankes he shall have of the prince and nobility: and when you shall so deare pay for your learning, will you not with open throate hunte the foole with Basons? sure yes, unlesse your simplicities bee such, that for the sure keeping of your private houses, you esteeme a grinning pattering ape before the sad and true mouthed mastife. To turne the Cat in the panne, and to be a hirelyng, or a penny boy for any particuler person, to have clientes in matters of Parliament, is token of too much vilitie: for covetyse is the only occasion of too muche forgetting your selfe. What should I write of this most filthie, unnatural, and servile vice, whiche shall for a fewe angels make you pleade as parcially in parliament, as in any other Court, not regarding your countrey, but the Jinks in your pocket. Such spokesmen I warrant you have the matter at their fingers endes, the writer out of the Copyes of Billes is set a worke, and many times too for drawing the cause they come into the house, and sitte with paper bookes, often read them, well consider of them, and why? for countries benefit (you may believe them if you wyll) but marke the circumstances, and their pence are as well hearde chocke in the Sachel, as the white paper seene in hande. Why? the bill is either private touching some one, else some very few, or else some one corporation of citie, town, or marchants; else the fraternity of some occupation, or suche like: for in deede we dryehanded men, can not well tende the penning and copying out of Lawes, without a little moystnyng. But if they had any sparke of vertue in them, they would not preferre Chauke before Cheese, they would not like better of Carryon than of newe kilde victual, neither blindfeele themselves, and as much as they may others, with so foule a savering vayle. The minde of many noble Panims have abhorred such errours, and yet we Christs professors too ofte runne headlong without backloking. Crates when he went to studie Philosophie, cast his worldely welth into the Sea, blessing them wyth a mischiefe, and that hee would rather drowne them, than they should choake hym. Byas in the havocke of his country when every one was busy to save somewhat, made no fardels of his substaunce, but Roge fashion in that respect, walkes awaye with his ordinary weede, and being asked of some, why hee had so small care of that which every one so stirred for, replied, that he had all his wyth him, meaning, Learning and vertue. Themistocles, after the overthrowe of *Marathon*, seeing a dead Corpes with Chaynes and Jewels, willed one to spoile it, saying, you are not Themistocles hymselfe: disdayning that ungentlemanly hunger. Pittacus being offred as much of his owne conquest as he would, measured his ferme by launcing of the speare, and more toke not, (a small fielde to make a parke of, unlesse he threw further than I can): Cocles had an Erledome for his service to the common welth, he thought himselfe contente, when great matters were pressed upon him, with so much lande as he himselfe, being lame, coulde plowe in a day, a recompence that my Baylie of husbandry for two yeres service will frowne at: Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus was holding the plowe when he was elected *Dictator*, performed greate matters, retourned to his Clownish husbandrie againe, and twentie yeares after was eft called to the roome, which he discharged better than any feed speaker in parliament can do, that I know: so that money did not the dede: Menenius Agrippa, a well deserver of the Romaine Empire, for wante of his owne purse was buried by contribution of the people: Martius Coriolanus refused great matters, and accepted a tryfle: Curius Dentatus hoysing Pyrrhus out of Italie, allotted to every Poll fourtie *Jugeri* of land (every *Jugeri* being taken for our Acre), and reserved as much and no more to himselfe, affirming that there should be no man whom so much wold not satisfie: to him from the Samnytes (he being a rosting rapes) was presented a great masse of gold, but despising that goodly shew, he told them he liked very well to eate such dainties as he had in hand in an erthen dish, and to rule those who had gold. Of all the large and welthy spoyles by him recovered of the enimy, he reserved but one gay wodden chaine, it was no doubt some matter of great price for the workmanship: The fewe bagges of P. Scipio Aemilius, M. Aemilius Scaurus father, a Patritian of *Rome,* getting his living by playing the Collyer: the nedynesse of Epaminondas who was driven to borowe thirtie shillings when he entred *Morea* in armes, refusing Jasons crowns and the mighty king of *Persians* thousands: Photion was no mony man, whom when Antipater would with greate summes have hyred, to have unjustly delte, answered he could not both bee a friende and a flatterer. Many hundreds might be named, that were sounde stakes to their countries, and for all their povertie, would not cry *Quid vultis mihi dare,* neither yet received when it was forced. O wold to God, that in places of judgement and justice, and in the harts of all executioners and makers of Law, Epaminondas his opinion were graven: not to be brought from his country with any price, not to be led to do a thing unlawful for any gaine, and what right and vertue did require for vertues sake, freely to do it. Cato Uticensis was of the same minde. Come not into the sacred Senate (for so may I well terme it) with that ragged robe of covetous and Bribery; eschew it worse than the infection of pestilence, leave it to brokers, to exchaungers, lay it in the merchants warehouse, bequeath it to the usuring Jewes: for if it catch holde in you, farewel religion, farewel morality, farewel justice, farewel discharge of duty, farewel truth, farewel care of good fame, yea farewel your owne contentemente how gay so ever the matter seemes: If for affection you stretch a string, you cannot be excused, for tho it carry some shew to beare with your friende, yet is it none indede, for your Country is the only marke you must shoote at. As for particulars, they are not incidente to the cause: Aristides (termed the Just) was so precise in the time of hys governement of *Athens,* that hee avoyded the amity and familiarity almost of all, bycause he would not be entreated by any to do unjustly. Cleon, when he toke the charge of the common wealth uppon him, called all his friendes, renounced their friendships, alledging that amytie was a stop many times to the right course of Justice: he renounced affection, he cryed out of envy, he detested too well standing in hys own conceite. Another way. Sir Thomas Androwes, a worshipfull Knighte of Northamptonshire, was by a yeomanly man his neyghbour thoughte to be sometime too much affectioned to the matter he liked well, to whom he brought a great Brawne: the servaunt letting his maister the knight understand of thys present, retourned him to knowe the givers name, which hearing, he could not call to remembrance any suche, but forth he comes; the presenter doth hys errand, prayes his maistership to take in good part this poore pigge, and with very lowe cursey wishes it better. Sir Thomas sawe the Swyne was good with mustarde, accepted the gifte, demaunding his neighbour why hee was at that coste with hym, sith he neither knew him, nor ever had done him any pleasure. True it is (quoth he, with a long leg in his hose,) neither will I require you to doe mee any: But I bestowe thys hog on your worship, that you shall do mee no harme. Here is a new kind of Brybery, which this country man was driven to (as he thought) by the parcial affection he feared in Sir Thomas. The like in effecte fell out betwene an Essex farmer and maister Anthonie Browne in Q. Maries time (a whyle chiefe of the Common pleyes), a man of good spirite and well reade, who having used the helpe of his neighbours towards hys building besides *Burnedwood*, till they were weary, and denyed further supply: the house must up, my Lords Balife will have carts for love or money, and so he offers largely for both: the tourne is served, my friendes Carters must all dine, out comes the stewarde, willing such as bounded for good will, to come and feed in the parlor, and the mony people to hinde it in the hall: my farmer at the *O yes* went and walked his stations abroade, and being demanded whether he woulde be a gentleman or a yeoman, he saide neither in this respect, for (quoth he) for good will I do it not, for I owe him none, nether for money, for I force not of so much; but for feare, and therefore I see no rome for me. I pray you answeare mee, if you had a matter in lawe before any judge in Englande, and hee shoulde either by corruption or blindefelde affection wreste a pin againste you and overthrowe you, contrary to justice, woulde you not judge hanging too good for such a coyfe manne, yes assuredly. Then in the parliament, where you sitte to make laws, wherby

Master Judge himself and all the rest are to be governed, if you be brybed with pelfe, or led by liking of a perticular to beguile your trusters, to bynde and poll innocents, to wrong the righteous, and to set the welfare of your country at nought. If Cambises pluckte the skinne over Sisamnes eares for lewde judgement in particular causes, what fleying and torment is not too good for the corrupt lawmaker, who is *supra judicem?* If malice and envie shall so reigne in you, as to disgrace the holsome advices of your countrey, you will refuse the matter, bicause you fansie not the man, and cavill without cause, not onely to have the motion rejected, but also the partie deserving well unsemely to be barked at, not only by your self, but by other pupsies of your own heare, the like detryment as before shall happen to your country. Yea and more infamy if more may be, shall lyghte on you, if it so were that unkindnesse or rather implacable wrath, yea the Northern deadely fude were betwene you and some other: ye ought to come to the Parliament counsell lincked in amity, sounde in fidelity, and perfect in sincerity one with another, and as a teame of horses must draw all togither, so muste you wholly joyne to your businesse. There are many times unruely Jades, unagreeing and lanching one at another, being out of their gares, but in the carte they fall to as they should, else he that loyters most, or playes too much the gallant, is well lambde for his labor, comes home as weary as the rest, is up in Royles stable, and if he sooner mende not his manners, Maister Miller must have him, who will coole hys courage with halfe a dosen sackes on his backe, and he on the top. The weight shall make him amble and manerly tread, and sooner he shall be laide on for groning, than for kicking: so if malice and displeasure to others shall make you to stomach them abrode, yet in counsel for your country draw together, else will you be ready for the Miller, who will lay harde hande on you, I meane the honest and wise meaning gentleman, not by batting, but by condemning your unruled apetite, and lamenting your mayme. The serpent (for so are all venimous things named) that crepes on the Earth, when for breede sake at the water side he seekes out the Lamprey, hee firste puts forth hys poyson, and as nature hath taught, calles, to whom the Lamprey as willing comes forth: The acte of their kinde performed, she to the floud, he to the earth, taking up againe his venom, returnes, which if perhap hee finde not, present death ensues. Here do you see that of all creatures the vylest and most accursed doth in daunger of hys life put aside the whole substance of the same, by purenesse and cleanenesse to associate hymself with that creature whom he well knowes doth not holde of his mixture, and will rather venture his owne undoing, than hinder that which naturally is appointed. If the Serpent doth thys, following but onely a course by kinde, and is allowed of, how much more is a Parliament man, who by nature, by the commaundement of God, by the profit redownding to hymselfe, the duty to his Prince and country, bounde to vomit up and to bury in the greatest deepes, that consuming and pestiferous canker of Malice, by the which so many mischiefes light uppon the Lampreys good soules that thinke no harme. This Serpent is venimous from the beginning, the lacks wherof is his ende. Man by the first fall proceeding by the delusion of the Serpent, is subject to intemperate choler, hate, despite, envy, and many weaknesses more, yet this subjection brings no such necessity, the malice is so incorporate in a man, as the poyson in the Serpent, for the one cannot have being without venome, the other most quiet and assured life here without malice and a very good token of a better tourne after his discease. What a Jewel love and unity is, dignity doth teach: what overthrowe to states and kingdomes doth hap by devision and discorde, scripture doth no better shewe, than dayly experience confirmes, this great Monster, thys daungerous consumer, this unrecoverable spoyler, most commonly takes foote by trifles, is nourished by trifles, growes mad by trifles, and triflingly in the ende brings itselfe to naught, and as many more as it can. As small sparkes kindled in back corners many times spredde to such large flames as the finest buildings and the greatest cities be thereby brought to ashes, so first unkindnesse conceived of tales, encreased with overweaning of a mans selfe, and made ripe with choler, overthrowes the making of holsome lawes, the due execution of those that be made, brings continual disquietnesse to all that any way be sib to the matter, private slaughters, furious actions, neglected duties, hateful companies, jealous assemblies, civill warres, ruine to the common welth, and condemnation for the immortal power. Themistocles and Aristides, the rulers of the Athenians state, did often jar, and were but hollow friends: but when they joyned in the service of their country either to field to strike it out, or to Ambassage to reason the businesse, they laide aside their old and usual hart burnings, and at their retourne resumed them again. Phocion for no offence would be displeased with his neighbour Citizen, Livius. Salinator being Consul with Claudius Nero his contrary, sought his friendship, least by their disagreement, the common welth shoulde receive harme. Cato Uticensis as he most stoutely stoode against all men, yea Cæsar himselfe, in the behoofe of the common welth, so did he never stur up in minde any unkindnes or injury done to him in perticular. Cretin of *Magnesia* seing the City in daunger by the comming foreward of Methridates conquests, and doubting more peril to it by the ambition of Hermias his fellow countryman and his misliker, perceiving that the stomack of one town could not disgest two so contrary mates, made him this offer, to choose whether he would defend the town at home, or spend his time abroade? Hermias left the helme to him, departed the town well furnished by Cretius liberality, who contrary to all expectation holds his owne, where the snarling wyth Hermias woulde have more wronged his country than the enemies weapons. In these persons their love to the state was extraordinary, their deepe considerations rare, and their treading down of affections, a thousande thousande times to be extolled. The *Lacedemonians*, bycause they would have their children eschew dronkennesse, they used theyr slaves by overmuche taking in their cuppes to play the hanykin beastes, and then were the youthes broughte to see that so swinishe and unnatural sight, which they coulde not but abhor, and the sooner beare awaye, to avoyde such errors. In like manner, if you will beholde the malicious and collericke man in his vaine, all the parts of his body shakes, he is Paraliticus, his colour either is earthly, or very extreame crymson, his eyes fyry, his visage wryed unnaturally, his voyce lost and abated, his experience forgotten, and lastlie his sences cleane overthrowne: he presupposeth that his wilfulnes is setlednesse, his threatning, corrage, his cruell disposition, a token of an invincible minde, his scolding, hate of vices, his heate, zeale, that he is temperate and yet Tom-bedlems worse, and in fine judging himselfe not to wante any vertue, hee wants all: that he is sober, yet berayes himselfe every daye fowler than the beastlie *Baccalean:* that forsooth hee is a good Maister of fence, and yet well knockt by every boy, and in hys best cunning breakes his foles face with his owne weapon. These persons be of weake natures, voide of learning, deprived of reason, blind in judgement, forsaking remedy, refusing advices, given over to their owne appetites, carelesse to loose their friendes, heedelesse to purchase enimies, ready to strike for every wagging of a strawe, patter they care not what, and so assuredly gracelesse, and not to be accompanied with. If you would be rid of this infirmity, beholde your selfe in a glasse when these passions come upon you. If you be scratched by the face, you will call to see your hurt, to viewe your malicious collericke minde, which will appeare in your visage with greater disgrace than tearings to the bone: will you sende for Galen, if he were alive to helpe your head ake? will you entreate the Marchaunt from the *Mollucce* to bring you spice, to comfort yourr disgestion, and will you not putte to the sea, sende your factours, yea go your selfe to *Anticera,* out of that friendly Ile to bring home the hole bottomes full of that beneficial herbe Helleborus to mollify your malice, to banishe your coller, and to make you forsweare your fury, stick not to bestowe some pence upon the confection *Nepenthes,* which will ease this want. Children and fooles, and some weake women growe in frensies when they may not have theyr owne wills: the child saith, give me some of dat, or I will tell my mother: the foole if you please not him, he will bite his owne flesh and see who shall have the worste: the good wife, if hir trinckets be forgotten, she puts the finger in the eye, bytes the lip, and perhaps sweares knave, and all for lacke of a ladle or such like. Let the furious envious man at his home-comming revolve his actions, and he shall perceive not all well, unlesse he will perforce be blinde: If he have shamed himselfe, and injured his better, what helpe? how can this be salved? with crying *Peccavi?* that goes harde in a Parliament house, in secrete so to say will not serve, for that the partie wronged hath no full recompence. Beholde some of our ordinary creatures, and you shall see such implacable disposition in them, as shew greatly the collerick man. The Backe being in hand, will not leave byting hir selfe: the Badger kepte perforce from his usual libertie, makes no spare of his owne flesh: and master Jacke Dawe (a daylie acquaintaunce of our poore men that dwell in thatched houses) will rather dye for pevishnesse, than take bread at their hands who willingly give it. Such a bug beast was *Stesiphon,* who would bite his Moyle by the eare for stumbling and kicking, Moyle it wyth his heeles at the poore Asse. I once knew a gentleman at Boules, who not liking of his fortune, made a quarrell to his Boule, fynding faulte therewith, ofte throwing it againste the pales in great choller, by chaunce or what I know not, at laste it rebounded against hys shynnes, and welfavoredly brake them both, wherwyth the Dagger comes out to revenge this mischaunce on this poore peece of wood, and snapping thereuppon, the Scottishe blade was snapt in peeces: *O dirum facinus et quovis animo creduli dignum.* Alexander that glorious Conqueror and great Monarche, endued with so many good partes and gifts of nature, never touched his honor, but by this filthy choller and fury, whyche hee being possessed wyth, most unadvisedly slewe his faithful and well advised follower Clito, brother to Hellanice, nurse or rather mother to Alexander, as hymself accompted, who had at the journey of *Granico* saved his lyfe from the blouddy fistes of *Spithridate.* And *Phesas* played the tirant upon *Calisthenes,* most cruelly mured up with a Lion that odde *Macedonian* leader Lisimachus. The lettes that *Olimpias* his mother conceived against *Antipater* the Lieuetenante of all *Macedony* in hys absence, hir continual complaints to hir sonne of him, made Alexander first loose a good servaunt, and after his owne life. *Cambises* that frantike king of *Persia,* by fury and light taking of displeasure, slewe his owne brother *Smerdis,* killed and repudiated his wife *Atossa,* for condemning the Acte, and upon a time putting a lyon and a dogge together to prove maisteries, the dogge put to the worse, an other of the same litter taking parte to helpe, at which sighte his other wife *Meroa* ruing the death of *Smerdis,* who founde no succor or ayde, at the last he commaunded to be dispatched. *Presastes* his sounde and assured at all assaies, upon his owne demaunde, for councelling some abstinence from his dayly carowsing (a thing misliked among the *Persians)* led with fury, forgetting all reputation that the duety to him had well deserved, and so much of justice as is lamentable, playde *Will Sommer*, stroke hym (as it were) that was nexte, tooke the sonne of Presastes, clave his harte with a speare for dispite before his fathers face, caused it to be plucked out, and shewed how right he could hit for all his cups. *Sophias* the Emprises pevish minde and malice did hardly rewarde that famous and fortunate defender of the Empire *Narses*, to the great detrymente of the same: and manye more but for spence of time, might be rehearsed, whose sodaine choller, fury, and untemperate rage, hath caused full oft to be wise after, and repente their blindfolde executions. Did not *Xerxes* that mighty king of *Persia* in an other manner of distemperature, for the effecte of his doings, shewe himselfe a tall gentleman, at his coming downe upon *Grecia* with an unusual army for the greatnesse of the multitude, and understanding *Mardonius* his forgoing Captaine had loste many of his people at the mountayne *Athos* in *Thracia* by meanes of the Streightes and perillous passage thereof: he writes his threatning Letters to the Rocke, that he will hewe it in peeces, bury it in the sea, make an Ilande of it (which with an inestimable charge hee did) if he suffred no better passage to the *Persians*. Himself comming to the sea at *Hellespont*, commaunded a bridge to be made to passe him and his company over, which overthrowne by Tempest, some of the workemen hee hangs, some other hee cuttes their noses off, some other puttes their eyen out: hee makes the sea to be canvast with cudgels, he throwes fetters and gyves into it, to imprison the waters. What lamentable follie is here, that *Xerxes* shewes, whiche unadvised choller brings hym to, and makes hym followe so soone with rooted and implacable malice, on such who receive no detriment therby, but himselfe divers wayes greatly harmed. Be it, that injury be offred you wrongfully and unworthy, by odyous speeches, or unseemely actes, remember *Philip of Macedone*, of whom *Arcadian* did nothing but rayle and lye, and that openlye alwayes, and in all places. It so hapned thnt this Squire was met with in *Philips* country by the kings servauntes, who advised sharpe paymente for his paines: that would not be heard, but *Philip* sent presents to his lodging and gently dismissed him. After, demaunding of *Arcadians* behavior, it was retourned, that none bestirres himselfe so much in his commendations now as he. Thus may you see (quoth Philip) what a Physition I am: It was tolde him howe the *Gretians* murmured hardly against him, and was moved by some to revenge the wrong: No (quod he) then will they in deed fourd me bad inough, for if I had ever hurt them, what shall I presuppose they would say. *Socrates* patience every body knowes, who among other parts of the same, having once drawn his weapon over his servantes head to strike, staying, remembred he was a Philosopher, and in furie, and therfore helde his hand. *Pericles,* that noble *Athenian* being most opprobriously skolded at in the streates, at the heeles folowed to his own dores by a lewde person, bare it as belonged to so worthye a gentleman, and commaunded his man with torche lighte to bring this gentle guest home. *Telecleius* king of *Lacedemonia* answered a brother of his very well, who founde himselfe grieved that the Citizens of *Sparta* delte hardlyer and lesse dutyfully towards him, than to *Telecleius:* quoth hee, you misconceive the matter, for you cannot beare any small injury. *Antigonus* being to his teeth tolde of his unseemely shape and laught at, coldely replied, that then he was much beguilde, for he toke himselfe to be a proper fellow. One shewed *Diogenes,* varlets that mocked him, and I, quoth he, find not myself mockt. King *Archelaus,* having water powred on his head, satisfied those that woulde have him punish the doer, that the partie threwe it not uppon him, but on one he toke him for. Divers Philosophers woulde not chastise when they were angry.

But to come to our owne time as it were. Let me not trouble you with too long a rable of those pacient people, but make an ende with two notorious examples, the one of a late great and worthy Emperour *Charles the fifte,* knowne to many in England nowe living: The other, of a poore Frier Gentleman our countreymanne *Dan Peto,* well kende to many in Queene Maries tyme. The Emperor lying before *Landersy,* where he had certain English souldiers in his ayde, in his greatest glory amidst his owne and waged straungers, a Spaniarde so layd at him, as no more marvelled at the lewdenesse of the person (whose country yeeldes obedient and patient men to the magistrate and no lavishmouthed whelps with such furious extremity) than at the mildnesse and curtious answere of so mighty a prince. The Spaniarde hightes him the sonne of a whore, a Bougger, a Marano, the most odious name with that nation, and as many more, as eyther Ruffian or Rogue can devise. Charles lokes at him, saying, *Habla Cortesment saldado,* wythout any further sturre. *Father Peto* I meane for age of whom I might also well thynke, but that hys Friers weede who purchased hym a king Henry knocke, stayes me for saying too well of hym: yet his patience and answere, shewed him no ordynary Franciscane, but a well meaning Fryer, if any of that Courte can so do; at the olde swan beside London Bridge, with two or three wyth him, the olde fellowe takes boate to the Courte at White Hal, which newe launched from the shoare, one from land sendes hym a brickbatte, and therewith such a palte on the brest, that downe fell the feble Frier halfe dead: some of hys company bussling to the steare to reprehende this lewde or laudable doer (take hym as you will) Peto stayde, saying, the stone was not cast at hym, but at his graye robe, for (quoth he) if the party knewe me, he would have staide his hande. If such charitable forbearing be commendable where men are so hardely delte with, how much then is to be condemned, that yre and choller, which as I sayd, kindled of nothing, growes of that moste pestilent plague of envy and malice. Follow the sound doing of him who is wary what speeches he uses, and glories in sufferaunce, and not that fether headed fellow, who braves in his furious and chollerike words, and loves himselfe the worse when he bears any thing. Plutarch gave good councel to Traian the Emperour, willing pacience in all occurents, mildenesse in actions, and to forbeare the hasty witlesse Braynes. If by your speeches in the Parliament you seke vaine glorye by far fetched eloquence and nedelesse phrases, delating the matter to shew the ripenesse of your judgement more than directly to go to the cause and make it understood, you may well shewe some great florish of great substance, which in the end will be found but froath, and all the sturre but fill mens eares full of dynne, who will finde that the stuffe smelles of the Candel, and deeme you had bin better occvpyed to have spente a Torche in travelling to learne the nature of the lawe you woulde speake of, than a candels ende in study to play the Charlatane, to put your selfe to sale. The olde, grave, wyse and well experienced Parliament man, if he discourse of any cause, if he shewe hys opynion, if hee laye before you what his long yeares hath taughte hym, he playes not, as the Hob of Hornechurche, who having never sene London before, nor London seene hym, in hys Christmas sute sente to Bartholmewe faire, entering at White Chappel, buyes nothing but gaping seede, persuaded that as he is delighted to gaze, so others omitte not to loke on hym, wherby it is night ere hee commeth to Aldegate, and so as wise as Waltons Calfe, is fayne to retorne home more foole than he came, for spending of horsemeâte. And why forsooth? bycause he hath bin so long in the suburbes, as he lost his market in the Citye. This man I see makes not a millers thumbe of his Oration, whose heade is bigger than all the body, unproportionable, neither yet without hed and all tayle, neither tike fashion all belly, but as muche of every one as is needeful. English man like, hee uses good woordes, the matter well declares his sounde meaning, hys countenaunce shewes the inwarde manne, the welding of hys body tells me he hath bin trayned in other places than Horne Church. He is as well contented to heare as to speake. He confers patiently, wyth modesty, he yeeldes to reason, loves himselfe not the worse if hys Arguments be confuted, nor envies him whose reason is better allowed of, but embraces the manne greatly for himselfe. If his advise carry the house, he prowdes not, but rejoyces hys country takes good, and the house reputation: he doth not wyth fleering taunting words, nor importunate yelling, snatch at hys contraries, nor desire their wantes to be seene, but fellowe counsellor like, layes some reasons before them, famyliarly confers with them, and friendlye manye times beares with the collerick and unseemly speeches which men too well deeming of themselves too often utter without cause. If he play Alexanders part, by being a man, as *errare, labi, et* *decipi hominis est*, if hee kyll Clito wrongfully, if he treade amisse, he shameleslye beares it not off wyth head and shoulders, he repentes virginlike his errour, and doth not Pickepursse fashion face out a lye; till just mends be made, he bewailes his mishap, (as Alexander did most noblie in that hys action), he conceives no priviledge by being in Parliament to injure any man with opprobrious tauntes, a lamentable fault in such men: he playes not the parte, whiche once an auncient gentleman and grave counceller tolde me he had seene some doe, which was, so intemperatly, rudely, rashly, and malitiously to use some in that place, as he assured hymselfe he thought they durst not doe in an Ale-house, for feare of a knock with a pot. There are some who alwayes love to heare themselves talke, and thinke their smokye forced eloquence, sweete perfume and pleasante melody to mens eares. They whip it, they lay on load, tho sometime and for the most parte they want learning: their Accentes are heeded, the Parentheses perfourmed, Allegories not forgotten, olde stories brought in, sackfuls of auncient sentences, and after the Spanish Fryers manner, they more harme the pulpit with knocking thereon, than benefit the audience, more disquiet themselves by broyling in theyr wollen weedes, than move the hearers with matter of substance, and finally, haue so great care of gay wordes, picked speeches and phrases, ordering of their voyces (and as I may say), traversing their grounde, as they so muche forget their matter, that as they never know what they have sayde: so parts their churche Auditours as well taughte as my Lord Maiors horse when his good Lord is at the Sermon at the Crosse. *Stratocles* and *Democlides* were Oratours at *Athens*, yet so may I not well terme them, but rather Italian triacle sellers, who never were but prating to the people, not to profit the common wealth, but to fill their owne purses by theyr Lampe studied ware, rather to delight than to do good, in so muche as they used betwene themselves in mockery, to aske whether they shoulde goe to their golde harvest. These men who carry their harts in their tongue, and not their tongues in their hartes, these womens children Oratours, these goselings talkers, should be delte withal, as a very friende of yours and mine Maister Nicholas Beamonde (whose honest gentlemanlye myrth yet remaynes) dealt with a man of good countenance of Leistershire in his owne house: The tale is somewhat homely, but no homelier than well done, and so well, as tho it were much homelier, it were the homelyest parte of all to leave it forgotten. A company of good fellow gentlemen, being at bourde with this housekeeper, with whome Maister Beamonde made one, the goodman of the house had all the talke, when the cuppes were well gone about the bourde, others would have also had some wordes, but it would not be. When mine hoaste had wearied all the company, and himselfe very well contented wyth the harmonie of his owne fiddle, which still he was doing with, Maister Beamond, who as you know is not amisse made for the purpose, let goe a rouncing poupe, which base was hearde above the counter-tenor, or past meane of the wearysom melodie, not only of the assistants, but of the Musitian, who demaunding what the matter was, master Nicholas answered, he craved leave for a word that way, for otherwise he could get none. Whether it were well done or no, I can not tell, but I am sure it did and hath moved good laughter, and perhaps done no harme to some greate talkers that heare the same, I would to God these talkative folke would but thinke how little good they do, what great paines they take, how they wery themselves and others, how men smyle at their follies and they see it not, sure they are alwayes of the wise used, as *Aristotle* used one, who with a long proces *de Lana Caprina* had pattred unto him, in the ende, quoth he, Sir I have thus troubled you with my speeche, not a whit (quoth Aristotle) for I toke no heede to any word you spake. *Demosthenes* was an odde Orator of hys time, as his Orations nowe extante do very well witnesse, and would you not thinke that he that found fault with them for length, wente aboute to finde a knot in a rush, and yet *Phocion* was prefered before him, whose workes (more the pity) we have not, for his short, compendious, substanciall, and sounde speech. If Demosthenes be long, who is short, to speake of our common talkers? Againe, there are divers other very grave, wise, learned, and perfect deeming men, who never or very seldome speake in parliament, of which some I have knowen myselfe and lamented their dumbnesse, bycause their speeches I am assured most plentifully would profit our common welth. The men I honor for themselves, but more for the good parts in them, which sith God hath so liberally bestowed, I woulde beseech them and all others able to speake, not to put their lights under a Bushel. Pithagoras made a lawe, that the tong tyed man who could not speake, should be driven out of the state: and then (with reverence I write it) what blame are they worthy to have, who can, and will not, and in that place where most neede is where by their uttrance most fruite may be gathered (and their ability most able to performe it). As no man can commend a yong experienced man who shall put foorthe himselfe in counsel to shewe his opinion before the aunciente and yeare beaten fathers, so what good minde will not grieve to see the studied Doctours still, and the Children dispute in matters of great weight: both doth well. Do not mistruste your own ability, as Theophrastus did, who taking upon him to play the Oratour, when he came to it, could not utter any one word. You speake among your countrymen, you speake for your countries advauncement, and like a Countryman of the wisest you shall be accepted. Although happily all things should not fall out so point devise as either you wish or others loke for. Isocrates that famous Oratours childishe timerousnesse who can allowe of, who in *Concione* never durste open his lippes? As this maidenly bashfulnesse is to be diswaded, so againe Cicero the Dad of the Romayne eloquence, his careful heade is to be followed, who with a warely feare entred Orations. The erst named Pericles, unwilling spake publikly, yet never ommitted his furtherance where it coulde profitte his Country. Wherfore as dainty regarde of speech is to bee imbraced, so dumnesse according to Pithagoras is utterly to be bannished. If you will not speake, dare not, or cannot, let another have place. England is no graunge, it can sufficientlye supply Parliament men. Thus (as you see) have I tumbled my tubbe, and found myselfe occupied to lay before you with good meaning (whereout I truste you may reape some profit) the notes minded in my passed yeares, and now for this present called to remembrance. I beseech God you and all of this counsel of Parliament both now and alwayes hereafter, in all causes and at all times may be lincked in one concorde, friendship, and amytie, imbracing and respecting the wealth and estate of your Countrey, that experience, learning, and wisedome abounde in you, that your heartes be of flynte, not of waxe, wherin threats may not enter, fayre words have working, nor briberie leave print, private affections to bee quite banished, malice and furie utterly forsworn, selfe lyking detested, vaine bablative speeches cryed aut of, needful words and tymes observed and tended, and finally, your trust (as becomes your lykes) discharged, wherby religion shall be stablished and maynteyned, the Prince strengthned and assured, the Nobilitie honored and encreased, the meaner sorte merelye enjoy their labour with duetifull mindes to serve wyth body and pursse their country and king, and with acknowledging due honour to their Peeres, which will make not only the present age, but our posteritie continually to sing *Te deum* and *Hosanna in excelsis* for the pleasaunt and adamant state which England dwellers may justly vaunt of, which to graunt and continue *in seculum seculorum,* God sende. Amen.

FINIS.

THE

CHRISTMAS PRINCE

IN 1607.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

The Christmas Prince,

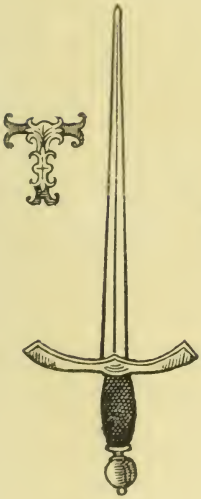
AS IT WAS EXHIBITED IN

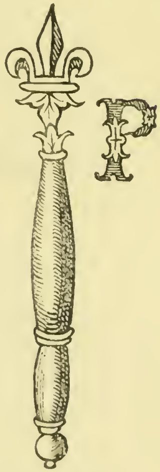
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

IN THE YEAR 1607.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

Virtute Duce, Comite Fortunâ.





Pro Aris *et Focis.*

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MDCCCXVI.

TO

THE PRESIDENT, FELLOWS,

AND

SCHOLARS

OF

ST. JOHN BAPTIST COLLEGE,

IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

This Curious Record

OF

AN ANCIENT CUSTOM IN THEIR SOCIETY,

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE PUBLISHER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The history and antiquities of a country are never better illustrated than by a view of its early manners and customs, and in this investigation the sports of the populace, and the recreations of those in a higher situation in life, afford, perhaps, the best and most certain means of information. Thus, from the religious spectacles of our earlier ancestors, and from the dramatic representations of such as have more immediately preceded us, we obtain a pretty accurate idea of their general feelings and accustomed behaviour.

From a consideration that any document which might assist in this illustration would not be looked on as useless or uninteresting, the publisher has been induced to offer to his readers the following account of a Christmas Prince, as it was performed in Saint John's College, in the University of Oxford, in 1607. Of its authenticity no doubt can possibly exist; it was written by an eye-witness of, and performer in, the sports; and is now printed, for the first time, from the original manuscript preserved in the College Library.

There can be little difficulty in assigning the origin of The Christmas Prince to a custom of high antiquity and general usage—This was the feast of the Boy Bishop, as it was called, a ceremony which was celebrated with great splendor on the feast of St. Nicholas, or the Holy Innocents. On this occasion it was customary, in all cathedral churches, (and probably in most large and opulent parishes,) for some one of the children of the choir to bear the title and state of a bishop, to wear the episcopal robes, and to exact obedience from his companions, who were habited like priests:—nay, singular as it may appear, they took possession of the church; and, except mass, performed all the ceremonies and offices of religion. In Brand's "Observations on Popular Antiquities," as well as in the "Posthuma" of the learned John Gregory, printed in 1650, various authorities are quoted, and many extracts given, which prove the antiquity of this custom; and Warton, in the "History of English Poetry," conceives that traces of this religious mockery may be discovered as far back as the Constantinopolitan Synod in the year 867. Be this as it may, it is certain that the ceremony prevailed in England in the reign of Edward the First, as that Prince, on his way to Scotland, in the year 1299, permitted one of these boy-bishops to say vespers before him in his chapel at Heton, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and made a present to the performers of forty shillings, no inconsiderable sum in those days. (Wardrobe Account, 28 Ed. I. in the "Archaeologia.")

The ceremonial of the Boy-bishop was put down by Henry the Eighth in 1542, by a proclamation setting forth, that—"whereas heretofore dyvers and many superstitious and chyldysh observauncis have be used, and yet to this day are observed and kept, in many and sundry partes of this realm, as upon Saint Nicholas, the Holie Innocents, and such like; children be strangelie decked and apparayled to counterfeit priests, bishops and women, and to be ledde with songes and dances from house to house, blessing the people and gathering of money; and boyes do singe masse and preache in the pulpitt, with such other unfittinge and inconvenient usages, rather to the derysyon than anie true glory of God, or honour of his Saytes: the Kynge's Majestie wylleth and commaundeth that henceforth all such superstitious observations be left and clerely extinguished throwout all this realme and dominions," &c. Although the custom was revived by queen Mary at the restoration of the Catholick religion, it was, of course, again put aside when Elizabeth succeeded to the crown, and from that time is no longer heard of.

From the Boy Bishop the Christmas Prince may then be supposed to derive his origin. Whilst the former was bearing sway in the ecclesiastical foundations, the latter was elected to celebrate the festivities of Christmas in the King's palace, at the seats of the nobility, at the universities, and in the Inns of court. "In the Feast of Christmas, (says Stow in his "Survey of London,") there was in the King's house, wheresoever he lodged, a lord of misrule, or master of merry disports, and the like had ye in the house of every nobleman of honour or good worship, were he spiritual or temporal." The custom prevailed till the ascendancy of the puritans during the civil war; and some idea of the expense, and general support it received, may be formed from the account of the Gray's Inn Prince (which will be noticed presently), and an extract from one of the Strafford Papers. The latter is from a letter written by the Rev. G. Garrard to the Earl of Strafford, dated Jan. 8, 1635.

"The Middle Temple House have set up a prince, who carries himself in great state; one Mr. Vivian a Cornish gentleman, whose father Sir Francis Vivian was fined in the star-chamber about a castle he held in Cornwall, about three years since. He hath all his great officers attending him, lord keeper, lord treasurer, eight white staves at the least, captain of his pensioners, captain of his guard, two chaplains, who on Sunday last preached before him, and in the pulpit made three low legs to his excellency before they began, which is much laughed at. My lord chamberlain lent him two fair cloths of state, one hung up in the hall under which he dines, the other in his privy chamber; he is served on the knee, and all that come to see him kiss his hand on their knee. My lord of Salisbury hath sent him pole-axes for his pensioners. He sent to my lord of Holland, his justice in Eyre, for venison, which he willingly sends him; to the lord mayor and sheriffs of London for wine, all obey. Twelfth-Day was a great day, going to the chapel many petitions were delivered him, which he gave to his masters of the requests. He hath a favourite, whom with some others, gentlemen of great quality, he knighted at his return from church, and dined in great state; at the going out of the chambers into the garden, when he drank the King's health, the glass being at his mouth he let it fall, which much defaced his purple satten suit, for so he was clothed that day, having a cloke of the same down to his foot, for he mourns for his father who lately died. It costs this prince 2000*l.* out of his own purse. I hear of no other design, but that all this is done to make them fit to give the prince elector, a royal entertainment with masks, dancings, and some other exercises of wit, in orations or arraignments, that day that they invite him."

The writer, or narrator, of the events connected with the Christmas Prince of St. John's was Griffin Higgs, who was descended of a respectable and opulent family in Gloucestershire, though he was himself born at Stoke Abbat, near Henley on Thames, in 1589. He was educated at St. John's, and thence, in 1611, elected fellow of Merton college, where he distinguished himself, in the execution of the procuratorial duties, as a man of great courage, though, says Wood, of little stature. In 1627 he was appointed chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia, by her brother Charles the First, and during his absence, in the performance of his duties, was created a doctor of divinity at Leyden by the learned Andrew Rivet. He returned, after a residence abroad of about twelve years, when he had the valuable rectory of Clive or Cliff, near Dover, and shortly after the deanery of Lichfield, conferred upon him. During the civil wars he was a sufferer for the royal cause, and, losing his preferment, retired to the place of his birth, where he died in the year 1659, and was buried in the chancel of the church of South Stoke.

Thomas Tucker, the elected Prince, was born in London in 1586, entered at St. John's in 1601, became fellow of that house, and took holy orders. He afterwards had the vicarage of Ripping-burge, or Pemberge, in Kent, and the rectory of Portshead, near Bristol, and finally obtained the third stall in the cathedral church of Bristol, in which he was succeeded, August 25, 1660, by Richard Standfast.

Of the other performers it would be easy to give some account, but the limits of the present tract deny it. Of the contributors towards the expense, it may be sufficient to say that they were not persons of inferior rank or consideration. Sir William Paddy was the favourite physician of our first James; and the Mr. Laud, as he is termed in the list of subscribers, was no less a personage than the noble minded, yet unfortunate, archbishop of Canterbury.

It only remains to explain the apparently strange titles of the Prince of St. John's:

"The most magnificent and renowned Thomas, by the favour of Fortune, Prince of Alba Fortunata, Lord St. Johns, high Regent of the Hall, Duke of St. Giles, Marquis of Magdalens, Landgrave of the Grove, County Palatine of the Cloisters, Chief Bailiff of the Beaumonts, High Ruler of Rome, Master of the Manor of Waltham, Governour of Gloucester Green, Sole Commander of all Tilts," &c. The prince of *Alba Fortunata* alludes, as may be readily conjectured, to the name of the founder, Sir Thomas *White*; St. John's, and the Hall, are equally clear; Magdalens is the parish in which a portion of the college stands, and a part of which belongs to the society; the Grove and the Cloisters are again parts of the home domain of the college; Beaumonts is the name of a portion of land belonging to the college, on which stands the ruin of the palace of Beaumonts, built about the year 1128 by King Henry the First; Rome is a piece of land so called, near to the end of the walk called Non Ultra, on the North side of Oxford. The manor of Waltham, or Walton, is situate in the North suburb of Oxford, and is the property of the college, as is a considerable portion of Gloucester-green, which though now better known as the site of an extensive bridewell, was in 1607 literally a meadow, and without any building more contiguous than Gloucester-hall, from which house it derived its name.

* * *

The only publication of a similar nature to the present is that of the Christmas Prince of Grays Inn, in 1594, which was printed in 1688, under the following title:

"Gesta Grayorum: or the History of the High and mighty Prince, Henry Prince of Purpoole, Arch-Duke of Stapulia and Bernardia, Duke of High and Nether Holborn, Marquis of St.

Giles and Tottenham, Count Palatine of Bloomsbury and Clerkenwell, Great Lord of the Cantons of Islington, Kentish-Town, Paddington, and Knights-bridge, Knight of the most Heroical Order of the Helmet, and Sovereign of the same; Who Reigned and Died, A. D. 1594. Together with a Masque, as it was presented (by his Highness's Command) for the Entertainment of Q. Elizabeth; who, with the Nobles of both Courts, was present thereat. London, Printed for W. Canning, at his Shop in the Temple-Cloysters, MDCLXXXVIII. Price one shilling." 4to. nine sheets, dedicated "To the most honourable Matthew Smyth, Esq. comptroller of the honourable society of the Inner Temple."

The prince of Purpoole was Mr. Henry Helmes, a Norfolk gentleman, "who was thought to be accomplished with all good parts, fit for so great a dignity; and was also a very proper man of personage, and very active in dancing and revelling." His coffers, like those of the St. John's prince, were filled by voluntary contributors, amongst whom the lord treasurer, Sir William Cecil, sent him ten pounds, and a purse of rich needlework.

It would be too tedious to recount all the proceedings of this festive court, which, speaking impartially, are exceeded in interest by the narrative that follows of their successors in Oxford. The performers were however highly applauded by Queen Elizabeth, who expressed her satisfaction in a way peculiar to herself. When the actors had performed their masque, some of her majesties courtiers danced a measure, upon which the queen cried out "What! shall we have bread and cheese after a banquet?" Finally the prince and his officers of state were honoured by kissing her fair hands, and receiving the most flattering commendations. The whole amusement terminated in fighting at barriers; the Earl of Essex, and others, challengers; the Earl of Cumberland and company defendants, "into which number (says the narrator) our prince was taken, and behaved himself so valiantly and skilfully therein, that he had the prize adjudged due unto him, which it pleased her majesty to deliver him with her own hands; telling him, that it was not her gift, for if it had, it should have been better; but she gave it to him, as that prize which was due to his desert, and good behaviour in those exercises; and that hereafter he should be remembered with a better reward from herself. The prize was a jewel, set with seventeen diamonds and four rubies; in value accounted worth a hundred marks." *

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* It may not be amiss to give the Gray's Inn list of performers, which corresponds in a great measure with that in the St. John's Prince. It will be remarked, that some few were afterwards distinguished members in the law.

[From *Gesta Grayorum*, page 6.]

"The order of the Prince of Purpoole's proceedings, with his officers and attendants at his honourable inthronization; which was likewise observed in all his solemn marches on grand days, and like occasions; which place every officer did duly attend, during the reign of his highness's government.

A Marshal. } { A Marshal.
Trumpets. } { Trumpets.
Pursuevant at Arms, - - - *Lanye.*
Towns-men in the Princes Livery, with Halberts. } { Yeomen of the Guard, three Couples.
Captain of the Guard, - - - - - - *Grimes.*
Baron of the Grand Port, - - - - *Dudley.*
Baron of the Base Port, - - - - - *Grante.*
Gentlemen for Entertainment, three Couples, - *Binge*, &c.
Baron of the Petty Port, - - - - *Williams.*
Baron of the New Port, - - - - - *Lovel.*
Gentlemen for entertainment, three couples, - - { *Wentworth, Zukenden, Forrest.*
Lieutenant of the Pensioners, - - - *Tonstal.*

Gentlemen Pensioners, twelve couples, viz.
Lawson. *Devereux.* *Stapleton.* *Daniel.* } { *Rotts.* *Anderson.* *Glascott.* *Elken.* } { *Davison,* *cum reliquis.*

Chief Ranger and Master of the Game, - - *Forrest.*
Master of the Revels, - - - - *Lambert.*
Master of the Revellers, - - - - - *Tevery.*
Captain of the Pensioners, - - - - *Cooke.*
Sewer, - - - - - *Archer.*
Carver, - - - - - - *Moseley.*

Another Sewer,	*Drewry.*
Cup-bearer,	*Painter.*
Groom-porter,	*Bennet.*
Sheriff,	*Leach.*
Clerk of the Council,	*Jones.*
Clerk of the Parliament,	
Clerk of the Crown,	*Downes.*
Orator,	*Heke.*
Recorder,	*Starkey.*
Sollicitor,	*Dunne.*
Serjeant,	*Goldsmith.*
Speaker of the Parliament,	*Bellen.*
Commissary,	*Greenwood.*
Attorney,	*Holt.*
Serjeant,	*Hitchcombe.*
Master of the Requests,	*Faldo.*
Chancellor of the Exchequer,	*Kitts.*
Master of the Wards and Idiots,	*Ellis.*
Reader,	*Cobb.*
Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer,	*Briggs.*
Master of the Rolls,	*Hetlen.*
Lord Chief Baron of the Common Pleas,	*Damporte.*
Lord Chief Justice of the Prince's Bench,	*Crew.*
Master of the Ordnance,	*Fitz-Williams.*
Lieutenant of the Tower,	*Lloyd.*
Master of the Jewel-house,	*Darlen.*
Treasurer of the Household,	*Smith.*
Knight Marshal,	*Bell.*
Master of the Ward-robe,	*Conney.*
Comptroller of the House-hold,	*Bouthe.*
Bishop of St. Giles's in the Fie ,	*Dandye.*
Steward of the House-hold,	*Smith.*
Lord Warden of the four Ports,	*Damporte.*
Secretary of State,	*Jones.*
Lord Admiral,	*Cecill (Richard).*
Lord Treasurer,	*Morrey.*
Lord Great Chamberlain,	*Southworth.*
Lord High Constable,	
Lord Marshal,	*Knapolck.*
Lord Privy Seal,	*Lamphew.*
Lord Chamberlain of the House-hold	*Markham.*
Lord High Steward,	*Kempe.*
Lord Chancellor,	*Johnson.*

Archbishop of St. Andrews in Holborn,	*Bush.*
Serjeant at Arms, with the Mace,	*Flemming.*
Gentleman-Usher,	*Chevett.*
The Shield of Pegasus, for the Inner-Temple,	*Scevington.*
Serjeant at Arms, with the Sword,	*Glascott.*
Gentleman-Usher,	*Paylor.*
The Shield of the Griffin, for Grays-Inn,	*Wickliffe.*
The King at Arms,	*Perkinson.*
The great Shield of the Prince's Arms,	*Cobley.*
The Prince of Purpoole,	*Helmes.*
A Page of Honour,	*Wandforde.*
Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, six Couples.	
A Page of Honour,	*Butler (Roger).*
Vice-Chamberlain,	*Butler (Thomas).*
Master of the Horse,	*Fitz-Hugh.*
Yeomen of the Guard, three Couples.	
Towns-men in Liveries	

The Family and Followers."

PRO ARIS ET FOCIS.

A TRUE AND FAITHFULL RELATION

OF

THE RISINGE AND FALL

OF

THOMAS TVCKER

Prince of Alba Fortunata, Lord St. Johns, &c

WITH ALL THE

OCCURRENTS WHICH HAPPENED THROUGH-OUT HIS WHOLE DOMINATION.

IT hapned in the yeare of our Lord 1607 the 31 of October beinge All Sayntes Eue, that at night a fier was made in the Hall of S^{t}. John Baptist's Colledge in Oxon, accordinge to the custome and statuts of the same place, at w^{ch} time the whole companye or most parte of the Students of the same house mette toogether to beginne their Christmas, of w^{ch} som̄e came to see sports, to witte the Seniors as well Graduates, as Vnder-graduates. Others to make sports, viz. Studentes of the seconde yeare, whom they call Poulderlings, others to make sporte wth all, of this last sorte were they whome they call Fresh-menn, Punies of the first yeare, who are by no meanes admitted to be agents or behoulders of those sports, before themselues haue bīne patient perfourmers of them. But (as it often falleth out) the Freshmen or patients, thinkinge the Poulderlings or Agentes too buysie and nimble, They them too dull and backwarde in theyr duety, the standers by findinge both of them too forwarde & violente, the sportes for that night for feare of tumultes weare broken vpp, euerye mann betakinge himselfe to his reste.

The next night followinge, beinge the feast of All Payntes, at nighte they mett agayne together; And wheras yt was hoped a nights sleepe would haue somewhat abated theyr rage, it contraryewise sett a greater edge on theyr furye, they hauinge all this while but consulted how to gett more strength on agaynst another, and consequently to breed newe quarrells and contradictions, in so much that the strife & contentions of youthes & childreñ had like to haue sett Meñ together by the eares, to the vtter annihalatinge of all Christmas sportes for the whole yeare followinge.

Wherfore for the auoydinge both the one, and the other, some who studied the quiet of all, mentioned the choosinge of a Christmas Lord, or Prince of the Revells, who should haue authorytie both to appoynt & moderate all such games, and pastimes as should ensue, & to pūnishe all offenders w^{ch} should any way hinder or interrupte the free & quiet passage of any auntient & allowed sporte.

This motion (for that the person of a Prince or Lorde of the Revells had not biñe knowen amongst them for thirty yeares before, and so consequentlye the danger, charge and trouble of such iestinge was cleane forgotteñ) was p̃sentlye allowed and greedilye apprehended of all; Wher vpon 13 of the senior Vnder graduates (7 of the bodye of the House & 6 Cōmoners, Electors in such a case) wth drew themselues into the parlor, where after longe debatinge whether they should chouse a Graduate or an Vnder Graduate, thinkinge the former would not vouchsafe to vndertake yt at theyr appoyntmentes, y^{e} latter should not be vpheld & backed as yt was meete & necessary for such a place, they came forth rather to make triall what would be doñe, then to resolue what should be doñe. And therfore at their first entrance into the Hall meeting S^{r} Towse a younge mañ (as they thought) fitt for the choyse, they layed handes on him, and by maine strength liftinge him vpp, viua voce, pronounced him Lord. But hee as strongelye refusinge the place as they violentlye thrust it vpon him, shewinge wth all, reasons why hee could by no meanes vndergoe suc a charge, they gott onlye this good by their first attempt, that they vnderstood heer-by how that y^{e} whole Colledge was rather willinge a Senior Batchelour at least, yf not a junior M^{r} should be chosen in to the place rather then any Vnder graduate, because they would rather an earnest sporte then a scoffinge jest should be made of it. Wher fore the Electors retourninge againe into the Parlor and shuttinge the dore close vpon themselues beganne more seriously to consult of the matter, and findinge some vnable, some vnwillinge to take the place, at length they concluded to make the 2 assay but wth more formalitie and deliberation; resoluinge, yf they were not now seconded of all handes, to meddle no more wth yt. Wherfore, entringe y^{e} second time in to the Hall they desired one of the 10 Seniors & one of the Deanes of the Colledge, to hould the Scrutinye and the Vice-Præsident to sitt by as ouer-seer, who willingly harkninge to their request sate all 3 downe at the highe Table: Then the Electors went vp one by one in senioritye to giue their voyce by writinge. In the meane time there was great expectation who should bee the Mañ. Somẽ in y^{e} lower ende of the Hall, to make sporte, had theyr Names loudest in their mouthes whome they least thought of in their mindes, & whome they knewe should come shortest of the place. At length all the voyces beinge giuen and, accordinge to the custome, the Scrutinie at large beinge burned, the Vice-præsident wth the rest stoode vpp, and out of the abstract the Deane read distinctly in the hearinge of all pͤsent as followeth

Nominantur in hoc Scrutinio duo quorum

1^{us} Joañes Towse, habet suffragia sex.
2^{q} Thomas Tucker, habet suffragia septem.

These wordes were not out of his mouthe before a generall and loud crie was made of Tucker, Tucker, Viuat, Viuat, &ct. After w^{ch} all the younger sorte rañe forth of the Colledge crieinge the same in the streets; w^{ch} S^{r}. Tucker beinge then howsde not farr from the Colledge, ouer hearinge, kept himself close till the companye were past, and then, as soone and secretly as he could, gott him to his Chamber; where (after he had biñe longe sought for abroad in the Towne, and at home in y^{e} Colledge, haste and desire out ruñinge it self, and seekinge there last where it might first finde) he was in a mañer surprised, and more by violence then any will of his owne, taken vpp & with continuall & ioyfull outcries, carried about y^{e} Hall, and so backe to his Chamber, as his owne request was, where for y^{t} night he rested, dismissinge y^{e} Company and desiringe some time to thinke of their loues and goodwill, and to consider of his owne charge and place.

About 3 or 4 dayes after, on the 5 of Nouember the Lrd Elect wth the Batchelours, and some of the Senior Vnder-graduates came into y^{e} Hall where euery mañ beinge seated in his order, many speaches were made by diuerse of diuerse matters, some coñendinge a monarchicall state of Gouermente, and y^{e} sometimes suddayne necessitye of Dictators, others discoñendinge both. Some agayne extollinge sportes & reuells, others mainely disallowinge them, all of them drawinge some conclusion concerninge y^{e} like or dislike of y^{e} gouerment newly beguñe, and like for a little space to continue amongst them. In y^{e} ende the Lord Elect himselfe, to conclude all, deliuered his owne minde in mañer followinge— —

Quæ beneficia (Viri Electores clarissimi) plus difficultatis atq; oneris apportant collocata, quā debite administrata; poterunt honoris, cautè magis primo in limine credo excipienda quā aut im̄ensæ dignitatis expectatione appetenda auidè, aut boni incogniti cæco appetitu app^{e}hendenda temere. Quorū in albo (Electores conscripti) cū semper dignitates istiusmodi serio retulerim, Vos (pace dicā vestræ diligentiæ) non tam mihi videmini gratias debere expectare, quā ipse istud onus suscepturus videor promereri. Nā illud demum gratijs excipitur beneficiū (pro temporū ratione loquor) quod nec sollicitudo vrget nec officiū—Infinitæ autem adeo sunt anxietates, quæ vel istam dominatus *ανατύπωσιν* circumcingunt, vt pauci velint ipsas cū dominatu lubentèr amplecti, nulli possint euitare, nulli sustinere. Nā vbi veri imperij facies est repræsentanda expectanda semper

est aliqua curarū proportio. Verū cum dignitas Electoria, amicitia suffragatoria, populi applausus, ōniū consensus Democratiæ tollendæ causâ ad primatum euocauerint, lubens animi nostri strenuæ renuentis temperabo impetū, et sedulò impendā curam, vt Reip: (si vobis minus possim singulis) toti satisfaciā. Hic ego non ità existimo opportunū progressuū nostrorū aduersarijs curā imperij promiscuam et indigestam collaudantibꝰ respondere, aut statꝰ Monarchici necessitatē efferentibꝰ assentari: Disceptationū vestrarū non accessi judex, accersor imperator; Amori vestro (Viri nobis ad primè chari) lubens tribuo gloriæ nostræ ortū; progressū augustū atq; gloriosū a vobis ex officio vestro exigere, præter amorē nostrum fore nō arbitror. Tyrañidem non profiteor, imperiū exercebo. Cujus fœliciores processus vt promoueantur, atq; indiès stabiliant̃ æris magis quam oris debetis esse prodigi. Quarè primitias amoris, atq; officij vestri statuo extemplo exigendas, nè aut ipse sinè authoritate imperare, aut imperium sinè gloriâ capessisse videar. Πολιτείαν Atheniensem sequimur, cujus ad norman Ego ad munus regiū jam suffectus, Mineruæ, Vulcano et Prometheo sacra cū ludorum curatoribus pro moris vsu, primâ meâ in his sacris authoritate fieri curabo. Interim vero (Viri nostrâ authoritate adhuc majores) juxta prædictæ Reipublicæ jmaginē choragos, seu adjutores desidero, qui nō tantum ludis præponantur, sed et liberalitate pro opū ratione in Reipublicæ impensas vtentes, ex ære publico præmia partim proponant, partim de suo insumant, hoc nomine quod illorū sint præfecti. Quæ alia vestri sunt officij moniti præstabitis, quæ amoris, vltro (vti Spero) offeretis.

This was counted sufficient for his priuate jnstallmente, but wth all it was thought necessary y^{t} some more publicke notice hereof should be giuen to the whole Vniuersitie, wth more solemnitie and better fashion; yet before they would venter to publish their priuate intendements, they were desirous to knowe what authoritie and jurisdiction would be graunted them, what money allowed them towards the better goinge thorough wth that they had begūne. And not long after the whole company

of the Batchelours sent 2 bills to the M^rs^ fire, y^e^ one crauinge duety and alleageance, y^e^ other money & maintenance in mañer & forme followinge :

The coppye of a Bill sent by y^e^ Lord Elect, and y^e^ whole company of y^e^ Batchelours to y^e^ M^rs^ fire, crauinge their duety and alleageance.

Not doubtinge of those ceremonious and outward duetyes w^ch^ yourselues (for example sake) will perfourme, Wee *Thomas Tucker* with y^e^ rest of y^e^ Bacchelours are bold to entreat, but as *Thomas, L^rd^ Elect* w^th^ y^e^ rest of our Councell are ready to expect, that no Tutor or Officer whatsoeuer shall at any time, or vpon any occasion jntermeddle, or partake with any scholler, or youth whatsoeuer, but leauinge all matters to the discretion of our selues, stand to those censures and judgementes which wee shall giue of all offenders, y^t^ are vnder our gouermente in causes appertaininge to our gouernment. All wayes promisinge a carefull readinesse to see schollerlike excercise perfourmed, and orderly quietnesse mayntained in all sortes ; This as Wee promise for our owne partes, so Wee would willingly desire y^t^ you should promise the perfourmance of y^e^ rest for your partes, accordinge to y^t^ bountye & loue which allready you haue shewed us.

Yours *Thomas Tucker*
Ioseph Fletcher *Thomas Downer*
Iohn Smith *Rouland Juxon*
Richard Baylye *Iohn Huckstepp*
Richard Holbrooke *Iames Bearblocke*
Iohn Towse *Iohn English*

This Bill subscribed w^th^ all their handes was seene & allowed by all the M^rs^ who promised rather more then lesse, then that w^ch^ was demaunded. But concerninge y^e^ other Bill for Subsidyes, it was answered, that it was not in their power to graunt it w^th^ out the Præsident, whose coming home, was euery day expected : against w^ch^ time it was prouided, and deliuered vnto him; who together wth the 10 Seniors, was loath to graunt any thinge till they were certified what sportes should bee, of what quality & charge, that so they might ye better proportion ye one to ye other, ye meanes to the matter: They were allso willinge to knowe what particular Men̄ would take vpon them ye care of furnishinge particular nightes. For they would by no meanes relye vpon generall promises because they were not ignorant how that wch concerneth all in generall is by no man̄ in speciall regarded. Wherfore they beinge somewhat, allthough not fully, satisfied in their demaundes by some of the Mrs, whom they seemed cheefly to trust wth ye whole businesse, the Bill was againe perused, and euery man̄ ceazed in manner and forme followinge:

The Coppye of an auncient Act for taxes and subsidyes made in ye rayḡe of our Prædecessor of famous memorye, in this Parliament held in AULA REGNI *ye vith of Nouember* 1577 *and now for* OUR SELF *newly ratified and published, anno regni jo Nouemb.* 7o 1607.

Because all louinge & loyall Subjects doe owe not onely themselues, but allso their landes, liuinges, goodes, and what soeuer they call theirs, to ye good of ye Com̄onwealth, and estate vnder wch they peaceably enjoy all, It is farther enacted that no man̄ dissemble his estate, or hide his abilitye, but be willinge at all times to pay such duetyes, taxes, and subsidies as shall be lawfully demaunded & thought reasonable without ye hinderance of his owne estate, vpon payne of forfettinge himself and his goodes whatsoeuer.

Domus vili. xiiis. iiiid.—More iili. xvis. jd.

Mr Præsidens	xls.	Mr Cliffe	xs
Mr Vice præsid.	xs	Mr Boyle	xs
Mr Raynsby	xxs	Mr Androes	xs
Mr Lee	xxs	Mr Sandsbury	xs
Mr Sone	xs	Mr Blagroue	xs
Mr Laude	xs	Mr Salterne	xs
Mr Raulinson	xxs	Mr Barnard	xs

Mr Iuxon	x^{s}
Mr Lawson	v^{s}
Mr Iackson	vi^{s} viii^{d}
Mr Tuer	vi^{s} viii^{d}
Mr Loueden	vi^{s} viii^{d}
Mr Tillesly	x^{s}
Mr Rich	xx^{s}
Mr Nash	xx^{s}
Mr Sprott	x^{s}
Mr May	xx^{s}
Mr Washburne	v^{s}
Mr Bell	viii^{s} iiii^{d}
Mr Chadwell	x^{s}
Mr Chamberlen	xx^{s}
Mr Swinerton Se.	xx^{s}
Mr Swinerton Ju.	xx^{s}
Mr Phillips Se.	xx^{s}
Mr Phillips Ju.	xx^{s}
Mr Dickinson	xx^{s}
S^{r} Smith	v^{s}
Cheney	x^{s}
Dingly Se.	vi^{s} viii^{d}
Peake	x^{s}
Hyggins	x^{s}
Anger	x^{s}
Stanley	x^{s}
Hungerford	xv^{s}
S^{r} Fletcher	x^{s}
S^{r} Downer	x^{s}
S^{r} Smith	x^{s}
S^{r} Iuxon	x^{s}
S^{r} Baylie	x^{s}
S^{r} Huckstepp	x^{s}
S^{r} Holbrooke	x^{s}
S^{r} Bearblock	x^{s}
S^{r} Towse	x^{s}
English	vi^{s} viii^{d}
Steeuens	v^{s}
Blagroue	vi^{s} viii^{d}
Virtue	v^{s}
Hudson	v^{s}
Clarke	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Alder	vi^{s} viii^{d}
Dingley Ju.	x^{s}
Sackuile Se.	x^{s}
Sackuile Ju.	x^{s}
Nedham	x^{s}
Allworth	x^{s}
Alford	x^{s}
Morgan	x^{s}
Chadwell	x^{s}
Clarke	x^{s}
Leedes Se.	xv^{s}
Leedes Ju.	xv^{s}
Hereford	x^{s}
Beauance	x^{s}
Brigden	v^{s}
Higgs	v^{s}
Nailor	v^{s}
Dale	v^{s}
Cooper	ii^{s}. vi^{d}
Williamson	v^{s}
Wrenn	v^{s}
Grice	v^{s}
Rylie	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Rippen	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Harris	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
Langly	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Iustice	iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Summa 52^{li} xiii^{s} vii^{d}

Though y^e whole company had thus largely contributed towards y^e ensuinge sports, yet it was found that when all thinges necessary should be layed toegether, a great som̄e of money would be wantinge and therfore a course was thought vpon of sendinge out priuie Seales to able & willinge Gentlemen̄ w^{ch} had bin̄e sometimes Fellowes or Com̄oners of y^e Colledge y^t it would please them to better y^e stocke, and out of their good will contribute somwhat towardes y^e Princes Reuelles: y^e forme of this writt was in manner followinge

THE SUPERSCRIPTION

To our trustye, and welbeloued N. N.
Knight, or Esquier &c.

PRO ARIS ET FOCIS.

Trusty and welbeloued wee greet you well. Allthough there bee nothinge more against our minde then to be drawne into any course that may burden our loyall Subjects, Yet such is our estate, at this time, in regard of y^e great and vrgent occasions fallinge and growinge dayly vpon vs without time or respiration as wee shalbe forced præsently to disburse greater som̄es of money then is possible for vs to prouide by any ordinarye meanes, or to want wth out great præjudice. Sejng as well y^e fame of our kingdome in y^{e} entertaynment of forraine Princes & Embassadours, as y^{e} safetie of our owne person, and y^{e} whole Com̄onwealth for the præuentinge of warrs and tumultes, likely to ensue, consisteth in y^{e} wealth of our coffers as much as in any one meanes whatsoeuer. In which consideration wee thinke it needlesse to vse any more argumentes from such a Prince to such a Subiect, but y^{t}, as our necessitie is y^{e} only cause of our request, so your loue and duety must be y^{e} cheife motiue of your ready perfourmance and helpe in furnishinge these our wantes, not only wth your person, but wth your purse in your owne absence: A matter wherof we make no doubt, beinge fully perswaded of your seruice & fidelitie. Therfore our will and pleasure is that præsently upon y^{e} receipt hereof you cause a som̄e of money accordinge to y^{r} abilitie & greatnesse of y^{r} loue to bee deliuered to Thomas Clarke whom we haue appointed to be our Collector in y^{e} County of Middlesex; the lone wherof only we desire to be vntill y^{e} next great yeare of Plato, then to be jm̄ediatly repayd by vs or our successors to you or y^{r} Assignes y^{t} shall then demaund it.

Giuen vnder our priuye Seale at our Pallace of S^{t}. Iohns in Oxen, the seuenth of December in the first yeare of our rayne, 1607.

The names of those who were serued wth this writt, and who most willingly obeyed vpon the receipt thereof, were these followinge[a]

S^{r} Robert Chamberlen who contributed	2^{li}	Mr Whitlock	xxx^{s}
S^{r} William Paddye	3^{li}	Mr Lydall	xx^{s}
S^{r} George Wright	xx^{s}	Mr Barklye	xx^{s}
Mr Doctor Perin	xx^{s}	Mr Kiete	xx^{s}
Mr Doctor Searchfield	xx^{s}	Mr Hugh May	xx^{s}
Mr Doctor Warner	x^{s}	Mr Martin	x^{s}
Mr Hawlye	xx^{s}	Mr Wilmont	x^{s}
		Mr Bowstred	x^{ss}
Sum̄a		xvi^{li}. x^{s}. 0	

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[a] *Others were serued and bragd of it, as though they had giuen, but sent nothing.*

For all these Subsidies at home, and helpes abroad, yet it was founde y^{t} in y^{e} ende there would rather be want (as jndeed it hapned) then any superfluitye, and therfore y^{e} Prince tooke order wth the Bowsers to send out warrantes to all y^{e} Tenantes & other frendes of y^{e} Colledge, y^{t} they should send in extraordinary prouision against euery Feast, w^{ch} accordingly was perfourmed; Some sendinge money, some Wine, some Venison some other prouision, euery one accordinge to his abilitye.

All thinges beinge thus sufficiently (as it was thought) prouided for, y^{e} Councell table wth y^{e} Lord himself, mett together to nominate Officers & to appoynt the day of y^{e} Princes publike jnstallment w^{ch} was agreed should be on S^{t}. Andrews day at night; because at that time y^{e} Colledge also was to chouse their new Officers for y^{e} yeare followinge.

Now for y^{t} they would not playnely & barely jnstall him without any farther ceremonies, it was thought fitt that his whole ensuinge Regiment (for good lucke sake) should be consecrated to y^{e} *Deitie of Fortune*, as y^{e} sole Mistres & Patronesse of his estate, and therfore a Schollerlike deuise called, *Ara Fortunæ* was prouided for his installment; w^{ch} was perfourmed in manner & forme followinge:

ARA FORTVNÆ.

Inter-locutores.

PRINCEPS.
FORTUNA.
TOLMÆA.
THESAURARIUS.
CAMERARIUS.
JURISCONSULTUS.
PHILOSOPHUS.

RUSTICUS.
STULTUS.
REBELLIS PRIMUS.
——— SECUNDUS.
——— TERTIUS.
——— QUARTUS.
NUNCIUS.

* * * * * * * * * * *

[*The Drama is not given on account of its length. And it will be remarked, that, wherever asterisks are substituted, some portion of the MS. has been omitted.*]

This Showe by our selues was not thought worthye of a stage or scaffoldes, and therfore after supper y^e tables were onlye sett together, w^{ch} was not done wth out great toyle & difficullty, by reason of y^e great multitude of people (w^{ch} by y^e default of y^e dorekeepers, and diuers others, euery man̄ bringinge in his freinds) had fild y^e Hall before wee thought of it. But for all this it begān̄e before 8 of clock, and was well liked by y^e whole audience, who, how vnrulye so euer they meante to bee afterwardes, resolued I thinke at first wth their good applause and quiet behauiour to drawe vs on so farr, as wee should not bee able to retourne backwardes without shame & discreditt. They gaue vs at y^e ende 4 seuerall & generall plaudites; at y^e 2 wherof y^e Canopie w^{ch} hunge ouer y^e Altare of Fortune (as it had bin̄e frighted wth y^e noise, or meante to signifie that 2 plaudites were as much as it deserued) suddenly fell downe; but it was cleanly supported by some of y^e standers by till y^e company was voyded, y^t none but our selues tooke notice of it.

Some vpon y^e sight of this Showe (for y^e better en̄oblinge of his person, and drawinge his pedigree euen from y^e Godes because the Prince's name was Tucker, and y^e last Prince before him was Dr. Case) made this conceipt y^t *Casus et Fortuna genuerunt* Τυχερον *Principem Fortunatum* – so y^e one his father, and y^e other his mother.

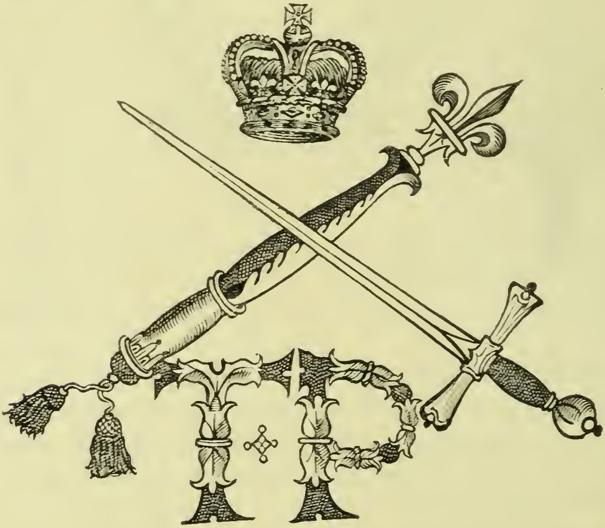
Another accident worthy obseruation (and w^{ch} was allso then obserued) was y^t y^e Foole carelesly sittinge downe at y^e Princes feete brake his staff in y^e midst, whence wee could not but directly gather a verye ill omen, y^t y^e default and follye of some woulde bee y^e very breaknecke of our ensueinge sports, w^{ch} how it fell out, I leaue to the censures of others; our selues (I am sure) were guilty to our selues of many weaknesses and faultes, y^e number whereof were encreased by y^e crossinge vntowardnesse, and backwardnesse of diuers of y^e Princes neerest followers, nay y^e Prince himself had some weaknesses w^{ch} did much præiudice his state, whereof y^e cheifest weere his open̄esse, and familiaritye wth all sortes, beinge vnwillinge to displease any, yet not able to please all. But to proceede:—On S^t Thomas day at night y^e officers before elect were solemnly proclaimed by a Sergeant at armes, and an Herauld, y^e trompetts soundinge beetwixt euery title. This Proclamation after it was read, was for a time hunge vp in y^e Hall, y^t euery man̄ might y^e better vnderstande y^e qualitie of his owne place, and they y^t were of lower, or no place, might learne what duety to perfourme to others.

The man̄er whereof was as followeth :

Virtute Duce, Comite Fortunâ.

Pro Aris *Et Focis*

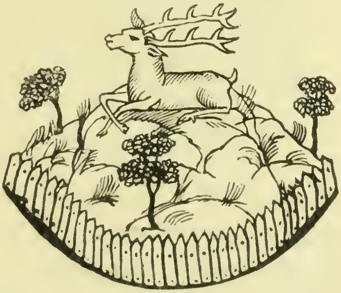
Whereas by y^e contagious poyson, and spreadinge malice of some ill disposed persons, hath bin̄e threatned not onelye y^e daunger of subuertinge peaceable & orderlye proceedinges, but y^e allmost vtter annihilatinge of auncient & laudable customes—It hath binne thought conuenient, or rather absolutely necessarye for y^e auoydinge of a most daungerous ensuinge Anarchie, a more setled order of gouerment, for the better safetye of all well meaninge Subiects, and curbinge of discontented, headstronge persons, should bee established. And whereas through wante of good lawes by wise and discreet Magistrates to bee duely and truely executed, a giddye conceipt hath possest y^{e} mindes of manye turbulent spirites, of endueringe no superiour, hardly an æquall, whereby y^{e} Com̄on-wealth might growe to bee a manye-headed monster—It hath bin̄e prouided by y^{e} staide and mature deliberations of well experienc't gouernours and prouident Counsellours, y^{t} one whose highe deserts might answere his highe aduauncement should bee sett ouer all to y^{e} rulinge and directinge of all,—Therefore by these præsentes bee it knowne vnto all of what estate or condicion soeuer whome it shall concerne y^{t} Thomas Tucker an honorable wise & learned Gentleman to y^{e} great comeforte of y^{e} weale-publique from hence-forth to be reputed, taken and obayed for the true, onely and vndoubted Monarche of this reuellinge Climate, whome y^{e} generall consent and ioynte approbation of y^{e} whole Com̄on-wealth hath inuested and crowned with these honours & titles followinge:



The most magnificent and renowned THOMAS by the fauour of Fortune, Prince of Alba Fortunata, Lord S^{t} Iohns, high Regent of y^{e} Hall, Duke of St. Giles, Marquesse of Magdalens, Landgraue of y^{e} Groue, County Palatine of y^{e} Cloisters, Cheife

Bailiffe of ye Beaumonts, high Ruler of Rome, Maister of the Mañor of Waltham, Gouernour of Gloster-greene, sole Com̄aunder of all Titles, Turneaments, and Triumphes, Superintendent in all Solemnities whatsoeuer.

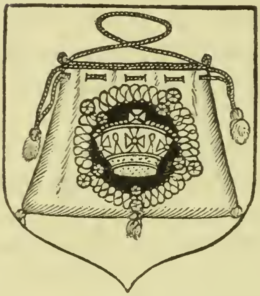
Now because they whom ye vnknowne cares, & vnweildie burdens of a sole regiment shall relie vpon, neede extraordinary helpe in yeir more then ordinarye affaires, Hee hath as well for ye better discharge & ease of those royall duetyes (as it were) wch attend on his place, as for ye auoidinge ye odious & ingratefull suspition of a single dominion, and priuate Tyrañye, selected and chosen vnto himself a graue and learned assistance both for councell and gouernment, whom, and euery of wch, his princely will is, shall in yeir seuerall places & dignities bee both honored and obeid, wth no lesse respect and obseruance then if himself were there præsent in person. And that carelesse ignorance may bee no lawfull excuse for ye breach of his will therin hee hath appointed their seuerall names and titles, wth yeir subordinate officers and deputies to be signified & proclaimed to all his louinge and leige Subjects, in mañer followinge:



The right gracious Iohn Duke of Groueland, Earle de Bello-Monte, Baron Smith, cheife Ranger of ye Woods & Forrests, great Mr of ye Prince's Game, hath for his subordinate Officers,

Sr Frauncis Hudson, Keeper of ye Parkes, & Warder of ye Warrens.

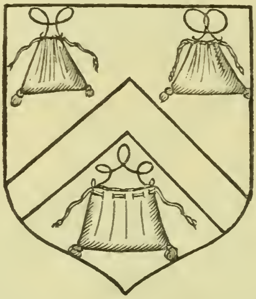
Sr Thomas Grice, Forrester, & Sargeaunt of ye Wood-howse.



The right honourable Rowland Lord Iuxon, L^rd Chauncelour, keeper of y^e great Seale, Signer of all publicke Charters, allower of all Priuiledges, hath for his subordinate officers,

S^r William Dickenson, M^r of y^e Requests, & y^e Princes Remembrancer.

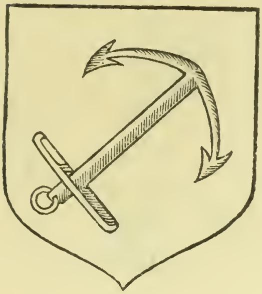
S^r Owen Vertue, Clarke of y^e Signet, and Chafer of Waxe



The right honourable Thomas L^rd Downer, L^rd high Treasurer, Receauer generall of all Rents, Reuenewes, Subsidies, belonginge by Nature, custome or accident to y^e Prince; y^e great Payemaster of all necessary charges appertayninge to y^e Court, hath for his subordinate Officers,

S^r Iohn Williamson, Steward of y^e Howsehold, Disburser for y^e Familye.

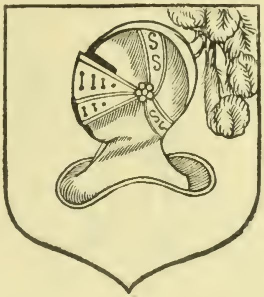
S^r Christopher Wrenn, Cofferer, and Clarke of y^e Exchequer.



The right honourable Ioseph L^rd^. Fletcher, L^rd^ high Admirall, great Coma̅under of all y^e^ narrow seas, floods, and passages; Suruayer of y^e^ Nauye, Mayster of y^e^ Ordinance, hath for his subordinate Officers,

Sr Stephan Angier, Warden of ye Cinque Ports, and Victualer of ye Fleet.

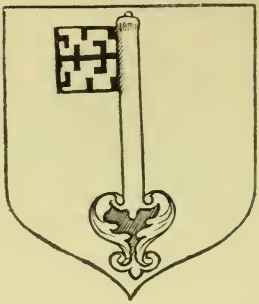
Sr Anthony Steeuens Captayne of ye Guarde.



The right honourable Richard Lord Baylie, Lord high Marshall, Præsident of all Titles, and Turneaments, Coma̅ndr in all Triumphes, Suppressor of suddayne tumultes, Supervisor of all games, and publique pastimes, hath for his subordinate officers,

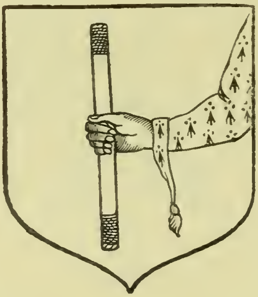
Sr William Blagroue, Mr of ye Reuells.

Sr Iohn Hungerford, Knight Marshall, seuere Coma̅under of ye Wayes for ye Princes passage.



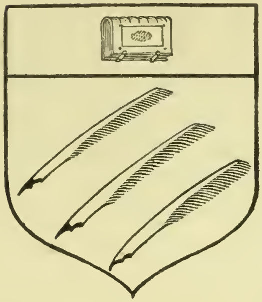
The right honourable Iohn Lord Towse, Lord high Chamberlayne, Purueior for ye Princes pallace, Ouer seer of all feasts and banquets, furnisher of all Chambers, and Galleries, Examener of all priuate pastimes, hath for his subordinate Officers,

Sr Richard Swinerton } ye Princes Wards & Squiers of his
Sr William Cheyney } bodye.
Mr Edward Cooper, Groome-Porter.



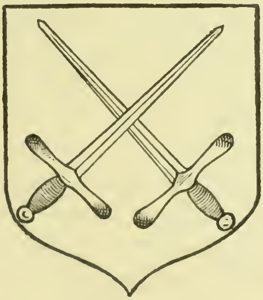
The right honourable Richard Lrd Holbrooke Comptroller generall, cheife ouer-seer of all Purseauants, Orderer of all howsehold Seruaunts, hath for his subordinate officers,

Sr Thomas Stanley } Sergeaunts at Armes & Gentlemen̄
Mr Iohn Alford } Vshers to ye Prince.
Mr Brian Nailor, Mr of ye Robes of state, Keeper of ye Wardropp, and Surveior of ye Liueries.



The right honourable Iames Lord Berbloke, principall Secretarye, Lord priuye Seale, designer of all Embasies, Drawer of all Edicts and Letters, Scribe to y^e^ State, hath for his subordinate Officers,

Sr Thomas Clarke, Mr of ye Roles, & Prothonotarye.
Mr Marcheaumount Nedham, Clarke of ye Councell-Table.



The right honourable Iohn Lrd English, Lrd Cheife Iustice, Examener of all causes capitall; Sessor vpon life & death, Judge of controuersies criminall, hath for his subordinate officers,

Sr Iohn Alder, Attourney generall, & ye Princes Sollicitor.
Mr Iohn Sackevile, Baylife Erraunt.

Now because good Gouernours wth out good lawes, carefull Magistrates wth-out wholesome Statutes are like dum̄e (though paynted) Images, or vnweapon'd Souldiers—Hee of his absolute authoritye, conferred vpon him in y^{e} late free Election, doth ratifie and establish all such Decrees and Statutes, as Hee now findeth wisely and warely ordayned of his famous Prædecessor; promisinge onely by a full and seueare execution to put life in their dead remembrance, Addinge moreouer some few cautions to bee obserued in his ensuinge Triumphes, as followeth—

First Wee will and com̄aund y^{t} no Forreyner, or home-borne Subject of what estate or condicōn soeuer p̃sume to disturbe Vs in our priuate Walkes and Galleries; much lesse to pester o^{r} Chamber of Præsence, either by themselues or others, vpon perill of o^{r} displeasure and certaine imprisonment for y^{e} night p̃sent; w^{ch} fault because it is too com̄on, and very præjudiciall to our State, Wee charge o^{r} officers appointed for y^{t} purpose to see pun̄isht wth all rigour & severitye, respectinge no mans person, but such as shall be thought necessarye and allowed by speciall Prærogatiue of y^{e} Prince himself.

Secondly because lowlinesse, and vndervaluinge humilitie in the judgement of y^{e} Sage haue bin̄e allwayes præfer'd before high pride & ouertoppinge arrogance, wee thinke it most reasonable, y^{t} for y^{e} better freedome of all mens sight, and auoydinge y^{e} abvse of engrossinge of our sportes, y^{t} the meanest and lowest of our Subjects enjoy y^{e} former places, y^{t} if they offende they may bee easily ouer-lookt by their Superiours, whom Wee will haue stand behinde for y^{e} same purpose vpon perill of displacinge, or loosinge their hatts if not y^{eir} heads.

Thirdly for p̃ventinge y^{e} malice of detractinge tounges, and y^{t} Wee may seeme to com̄aund no thinge w^{ch} y^{e} most parte of our Subjects shall not bee most willinge to obserue, Wee will & strayghtly charge, y^{t} nothinge either priuately or publickly shalbe perfourmed at w^{ch} there shall not bee som̄e, and perhaps just exception taken wth all vpon o^{r} princely bountye, licensinge them w^{ch} knowe least to except most.

Fourthly out of o^{r} open̄ liberalitye wee graunt free libertye to all wandringe Spies, & Knights errant y^{t} shall visitt o^{r} Court to furnish y^{em} selues wth any necessarye y^{t} themselues shall like, or first lay hands on; All-wayes prouided, y^{t} beinge forreiners and in a strange place, their carriadge be cleanely & warye, vpon payne of beeinge discried, & so taken for plaine theeves, w^{ch}. otherwise might passe for howse-hold purveiors, & allowed takers.

Fifthly because out of diuersities of opinion, y^{e} best may bee chosen, and y^{t} y^{e} multitude of objections most discouer trueth, wee further will and com̄aund that no man̄ com̄e to any of o^{r} consultations wthout some objection readye, and that no two agree in one and y^{e} same opinion; but wth all warninge them y^{t} they be as willinge to be answered, as to oppose, vpon perill of talkinge idely, & by consequence not to bee hearde.

Sixstly because nothinge is more for y^{e} enrichinge of a kingdome then merchandize & com̄erce wth other Nations, Bee it therefore enacted for y^{e} maintenaunce of y^{e} same trade in Veluets, Satins, Sylkes, Rashe and other Stuffs as fitt for tearinge as fine for wearinge, y^{t} none of his Highnesse Subjects of what Degree or State soeuer com̄inge to visitt his Court at time of Revells, shall p^{e}sume to hinder or finde fault wth nayles, tenter-hookes, haspes, latches, splinters, chinkes, or such like, put in trust by his Highnesse to teare out good clothes, and to keepe Marketts quicke, vnder payne of beinge accounted miserable, and to base to followe y^{e} Courte. Prouided allwayes y^{t} no Subject be forced to such willfull prodigallitye as to rente good clothes, if hee can̄ keepe them whole, any thinge to the contrarye in this Act notwthstandinge.

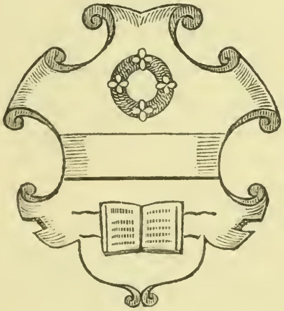
Seauenthly because it is farr from y^{e} Princes purpose to ouerburden̄ any of his louinge and liege People, or to take too much of any free or forwarde spirits, readye to doe him all loyall and laudable seruice,—Bee it therefore lawfull for manye w^{ch} shall freely, and of their owne accorde, wth out any constrainte or inuitation, make their personall attendance at y^{e} Princes Reuells, to see more then they knowe, and to heare more then they vnderstand, yea, and (yf neede be, and y^{eir} owne occasion so require) to vnderstand more then y^{ei} heare; that is to say to mistake and misconstrue any thinge accordinge to their owne will and purpose, vpon payne of beinge thought to judicious for ye one, and to ingeniouse for ye other, and so consequently vnfitt to liue in this criticall and censorious age,—Allwayes prouided that euery one may see and heare as much as hee cann, vnderstand as much as hee is able, any thinge in this statute to the contrary not wth standinge.

Eyghthly and lastly, for yt ye Prince's will and pleasure is that one Subject may liue by an other, and yt ye greater and stronger sorte of People may not too much wronge and oppresse ye weaker, wch hath frõ time to time bredd much clamour, and lamantable out cryes, euen wth in his owne Pallace, therefore for ye auoydinge of all such oppression, his Highnesse strayghtly chargeth and com̄aundeth all such as at any time can̄ot gett in, to stande wth out vpon paine of beinge thought foolish & desperate for attemptinge more then is possible; Prouided allwayes yt no man̄ bee constrained to com̄e so late that hee must needes bee shutt out, or so soone yt he must needs be thrust out, but that yei wch are wth in may bee conueniently prouided for, and they that be wth out may quietly prouide for themselues, and not striue to enter by indirect meanes, as climebinge of walls, breakinge of windowes, and such like, when as ye doores and gates euer doe, or shall lie open for yem. All wch his Highnesse will haue perfourmed, vpon paine of beinge troublesome to no purpose.

Giuen at our Manor of Whites-Hall, December ye 21th
in ye first of our Raygne.

◆

The same night the Prince, wth the rest of his Councell meetinge at the high table in the Hall, a Bill was præferred by the Lrd Treasurer for the aduauncement of Mr Henery Swinarton̄ to ye Earldom̄e of Cloyster-sheere, and ye ouerseeinge of ye Princes great Librarye. What y^{e} particular woordes of thiś Bill were is vncertaine; onlye it beinge subscribed wth a *Seruus tibi deuotissimus, H. Swinarton̄*—the Prince pervsinge it, was heard to say, *Seruus tibi deuotissimus! et tanta quærit?* Are his woordes so lowely, and his request so highe?—Yet it beinge further prest for him by y^{e} whole Councell, who pleaded that it came vnto him by a kinde of right, and lineall descent, for that his chamb̃ was directly vnder the Librarye and joyninge to y^{e} Cloysters, y^{e} Prince at length graunted y^{e} request, and his title was p$^{\varepsilon}$sently drawne by y^{e} Clarke of y^{e} Councell-table, and pronounced in mañer followinge



The right Honorable Henery Lrd Swinarton̄ Earle of Cloister-Sheer, Barron̄ of y^{e} Garden, cheife M^{r} of y^{e} Presse, and ouerseer of y^{e} Princes great Library hath for his subordinate officers,
M^{r} William Rippin, Surveior of y^{e} Walkes.
M^{r} Christopher Riley, Corrector of y^{e} Printe.

From this time forward, and not before, the Prince was thought fully to be enstalde, and y^{e} forme of gouernement fully established, in-so-much that none might or durst contradict any thinge w^{ch} was appoynted by himself, or any of his Officers.

The Holy-Dayes beinge now at hand, his priuye-chamb̃ was prouided and furnisht, wherein a chayre of state was placed vpon a carpett wth a cloth of state hangde ouer it, newly made for y^{e} same purpose. On Christmas day in y^{e} morninge he was attended on to prayers by y^{e} whole companye of y^{e} Bacchelours, and some others of his Gentlemen̄ Vshers, bare before him. At din̄er beinge sett downe in y^{e} Hall at y^{e} high table in y^{e} Vice-Præsident's place (for y^{e} Præsident him̄self was then allso p̄sent) hee was serued wth 20 dishes to a messe, all w^{ch} were brought in by Gentlemen̄ of y^{e} Howse attired in his Guard's coats, vshered in by y^{e} Lrd Comptroller, and other Officers of y^{e} Hall. The first messe was a Boar's Head, w^{ch} was carried by y^{e} tallest and lustiest of all y^{e} Guard, before whom (as attendants) wente first, one attired in a horseman's coate, wth a Boars-speare in his hande, next to him an other Huntsman̄ in greene, wth a bloody faucion drawne; next to him 2 Pages in tafatye sarcenet, each of y^{em} wth a messe of mustard; next to whome came hee y^{t} carried y^{e} Boares-head crost wth a greene silke Scarfe, by w^{ch} hunge y^{e} empty Scabbard of y^{e} faulcion w^{ch} was carried before him. As y^{ei} entred y^{e} Hall, He sange this Christmas Caroll, y^{e} three last verses of euerie Staffe beinge repeated after him by y^{e} whole companye:

1. The Boare is dead,
Loe, heare is his head,
What man̄ could haue don̄e more
Then his head of to strike,
Meleager like,
And bringe it as I doe before?

2. He liuinge spoyled
Where good men̄ toyled,
Which made kinde Ceres sorrye;
But now dead and drawne,
Is very good brawne,
And wee haue brought it for y^{u}.

3. Then sett downe y^{e} Swineyard,
The foe to y^{e} Vineyard
Lett Bacchus crowne his fall,
Lett this Boares-head and mustard
Stand for Pigg, Goose & Custard,
And so y^{u} are wellcom̄e all.

At this time, as on all other Holy-Dayes, y^{e} Princes allowed Musitions (w^{ch} were sent for from Readinge, because o^{r} owne Towne Musick had giueñ vs the slipp, as y^{ei} vse to doe, at that time when wee had most need of them) played all Diñer time, and allso at Supper. The Prince as ofte as hee satt in y^{e} Hall was attended on by a Cōmoner, and Scholler of y^{e} Colledge in tafaty Sarcenett. After Supp^{r} there was a private Showe perfourmed in y^{e} mañer of an Interlude, contayninge the order of y^{e} Saturnalls, and shewinge the first cause of Christmas-Candles, and in the ende there was an application made to the Day, and Natiuitie of Christ, All w^{ch} was perfourmed in mañer followinge:

SATURNALIA.

HERCULES.
CURIUS.
DOULUS.

* * * * * * *

This shew was very well liked of our selves, and the better; ffirst, because itt was the voluntary service of a younge youth;—nexte, because there were no straungers to trouble vs.

S^{t}. Steevens day was past over in silence, and so had S^{t}. John's day also; butt that some of the Princes honest neighbours of S^{t}. Giles's presented him with a maske or morris, w^{ch} though it were but rudely performed, yet itt being so freely & lovingly profered, it could not but bee as lovingly received.

The same nighte, the twelve daies were suddenly, and as it were extempore, brought in, to offer their service to the Prince, the holy-daies speaking Latine, and the working-daies English, the transition was this:

Yee see these working-daies they weare no satten,
And I assure you they can speake no Latten;
But if you please to stay a-while,
Some shepheard for them will chaunge the style.

After some few daunces the Prince, not much liking the sporte (for that most of them were out both in there speeches and measures, having but thought of this devise some few houres before) rose, & lefte the hall, after whose departure, an honest fellow to breake of the sportes for that night, and to void the company made suddenly this Epilogue

These daunces were pform'd of yore
By many worthy Elfes,
Now if you will haue any more
Pray shake your heeles your selues.

The next day being Innocents day, it was expected, & partly determined by o^r^ selues, that the Tragedy of *Philomela* should haue bene publikely acted, w^ch^ (as wee thought) would well haue fitted the day, by reason of the murder of Innocent Itis. But the carpenters being no way ready w^th^ the stage, or scaffolds (whereof notwithstanding some were made before Christmas, wee were constrained to differre it till the nexte day, w^ch^ was the 29 of December.

At which time in the morning M^r^. President, sending for one of y^e^ deanes, to know whether all thinges were in a readines, it was aunsweared that the Prince him selfe, who was to play Tereus, had gott such an exceeding cold, that it was impossible for him to speake, or speaking to bee heard. Wherefore they consulted to differre the acting of it yet longer, but then considering that all the straungers were already invited, and all other thinges in readines, that was not thought so fitt. And therefore casting againe in there minds what might bee done, many courses were thought vpon, but all disliked; att length itt was concluded (in case the Prince should not hould out) that then the Authour of the Tragedy, who was best acquainted with it, & could say most of the verses, should goe forward, where the Prince was constrained to leave, and to that purpose both were ready in apparell, and therefore for the better conveiaunce fowre verses were thought vpon to be said by the Prince att the end of the first Sceane of the second acte. The verses were these:

Terea tyrannum pace Fortunæ exuo
Elinguis esse pergo Fortunæ [*] modo,
Sic muta sequitur pœna, pro muto malo
Suffectus alius Tereus placeat precor.

This conceipte was soe well liked of all them that heard of itt, that manye sayde that itt was pitty itt was not put in practise though there were noe need of itt, but yet for all that, wee thought plaine dealing better then a cunning shifte.

Now for that itt was thought not to stand with the prince's state, barely to bee an actor w^th^ others, itt was contriued that hee should first enter like himselfe, w^th^ his traine, and so take his chaire as the chiefe spectator, and then Fortune his only patronesse, should appeare and find faulte with his still looking on, and doeing no thing himselfe, wheruppon bothe for the more solemnity should take vppon them to bee actors in the ensueing tragedy, all w^ch^ was pformed in manner followeing

INDUCTIO FORTUNÆ.

Ingred. primo Princeps cum nobilibus, satellitibus et reliqua pompa: omnes togati sedent. Dum Musica pulsatur, ingred. ad eos Fortuna librum manu gestans, cum Sacerdote præeunte, Fortuna præfatur:

Fort. Et quid togata porro majestas parat?
Amphictyoneos nempe concessus? nouo
Mundo studetur? iste concilio dies?
Quin surge, regni, surge possessor breuis,
Concilia vanas quam diu nectent moras?
In actionem prodeant, reges noui
Priscos agant; persona succrescit recens,
Concilia, mores, facta priscorum manent.
Sortire nostrâ paginâ historiam tuam
Vt sortientem dirigam, est magnum nefas.
Sortire; quid fit?

Princeps sorte legit paginam et in Historiam Terei incidit.

[*] *Philomelæ.*

Princ. Terei nomen lego.
Fort. Exuite vestras turba prægrauior togas.
Omnes togas exeunt, et parati ad scenam apparent.
Vel ipsa velum porro deducam meum,
Oculis apertis vt meas partes agam.
Dextrâ reposui jam rotam pedibus globum
Se quisque tristes particeps scenæ paret
Suam dolores, et voluptatem ferunt.
Vobis cauete, merita distinguo suum
Cuiq; iustè diuidam ingenuis probis,
Doctisq; amorem : non boni spretos sciant.

Exeunt omnes. In cathedra principis coronam et sceptrum relinquentes: ne sedes prorsus vacaret, mox singuli ad actionem prodeunt.

PHILOMELA.

TEREUS, REX THRACIÆ.
PROGNE, REGINA, UXOR TEREI.
EUGENES, A CONSILIJS TEREI.
PHAULUS, SERUUS TEREI.
TRES SOCII TEREI A CLASSE.
ANCILLA PROGNES.
PHILOMELA, SOROR PROGNES.
ITIS, FILIUS PROGNES ET TEREI.
ANCILLA PHILOMELÆ.
FAUSTULUS, PASTOR REGIUS.
FAUSTULA, PASTORIS FILIA.

CHORUS.

TERRA.
MARE.

* * * * * * * * * * *

At the end of this tragedy, when Fortune and the Prince were ready to enter the stage, it was remembred that there was never an epologue to dismisse the company, and therefore suddenly this one verse was made and put in Fortune's mouth to speake

Et si ista placeant vel Deæ plausum date.

And so this begging of a plaudity for a God sake seru'd for other compliment which was not mist, because it was thought no more was intended.

The whole play was wel acted and wel liked, the princes voyce held out wel, but the best and most judicious poet sayd in merryment that there was one great fault, and that was the losse of Philomelas voyce, who (as long as the history gave her leave to speake) spake so sweetly and acted so smothly that the audience could have found in their hartes that the story should have rather beene falsified then so good a voyce lost. But it pleased us well that they should rather desire to heare more than bee weary of that which they hard.

Itis was much wondered at for speaking Lattin because he was so little in his long coates, that hee was taken to bee but a child of 7 or 8 yeares ould.

Other accidents were observed, as the fall of the prince, which was so great that they sayd hee stood like a prince and fell like a prince; majesticke in the one and terrible in the other.

New-yeares eue was wholy spent in preparation for the princes triumphs, so that nothing was done or expected that night.

Next day in the morning (beeing new-yeares-day) the prince sent M^r^ Richard Swinnerton one of the Squires of his body to M^r^ Præsident with a paire of gloves, charging him to say nothing but these two verses:

The prince and his councell, in signe of their loves,
Present you their Præsident with these paire of gloves.

There was some what elce written in the paper which covered them, but what it is uncertaine.

At night were celebrated the princes triumphs, at which time onely and never before nor after he was carryed in full state from his pallace to the hall, where in the sight of the whole vniuersity a supplication was presented unto him by Time and seconded with a shew call'd *Times Complaint,* which wee should bee ashamed heere to insert, if wee thought it would please no better in the reading then it did in hearing, but (bee it as it will) wee entend the worse should bee knowne as well as the best, though, to speake the truth without boasting, wee our selves thought not so ill of it as others, nether will future times wee hope judge it so vile as the present did: howsoeuer it was perform'd in manner and forme following:

TIMES COMPLAINT.

TIME.
VERITAS, THE DAUGHTER OF TIME.
OPINION } SEDUCERS OF VERITAS.
ERROR }
STUDIOSO, A SCHOLLER.
MANCO, A LAME SOULDIOUR.
CLINIAS, A POORE COUNTRY-MAN.
HUMPHRY SWALLOW, A DRUNKEN COBLER.
GOODWIFE SPIGGOT, AN ALE-WIFE.
PHILONICES, A RANGLING LAWYER.
SERUUS PHILONICES.
BELLICOSO, A CASHEERE CORPORALL.

PROLOGUE.[*]

Worthelie heere wee bring you Times Complaint
Whom wee haue most iust cause for to complaine of,
For hee hath lent vs such a little space
That what wee doe wants much of its true grace.
Yet let your wonted loue that kindelie take,
W^ch wee could wish were better for your sake.

---

[*] This portion is inserted to introduce *the Prince's Triumphs,* as they are termed.

Enter TIME *wth the Musicians to place them.*

Time. O wellsaid, wellsaid; wellcome, wellcome, faith!
It doth mee good to see I haue some friends.
Come, true obseruers of due time, come on:
A fitt of musicke, but keepe time, keepe time
In your remembrance still, or else you iarre:
These for my sake to much neglected are.
The world tearmes them beggars, fidling roagues,
But come my fidling freinds, I like you well,
And for my sake I hope this company,
Naie more the Prince himselfe, will like your tunes.
Here take your place and shew your greatest skill,
All now is well that is not verie ill.

TIME *expecting the comming of the prince (to whom hee preferreth a petition) placeth himselfe on the stage till the traine bee past.*

This waie hee comes, here will I place my selfe,
They saie hee is an honourable Prince,
Respectfull, curteous, liberall, and learn'd:
If hee bee soe hee will not choose but heare mee.
Poore aged Time was neuer so abusde,
And in theise daies Princes themselues are wrongd.
If not for my sake, yet for his owne good,
Hee will read ouer my petition.
Oft hath the like beene drawne and giuen vp
To his nobilitie; But carelesse they
In theire deepe pockets swallow good mens praiers.
This his owne hand shall haue, or I will keepe it:—
But here they come, stand close and veiwe the traine.

Enter first six Knighte Marshalls men in sutable liueries with links and truncheons two by two.

Next the Knighte Marshall alone in armour and bases with a truncheon.

Then fower other of his men as before.

After these fower Knightes in rich apparell with hats and feathers, rapiers and daggers, bootes and spurres, euerie one his Lackie attending one him with torch-lighte, all two by two.

After these the M^r^ of the Requests, the M^r^ of the Robes in vaste veluet gownes with lackies and torches before them.

After these fower Barons in veluet cloakes likewise attended with lackies and torches.

After these an Herald at Armes bare, with two lackies attendant bearing torches.

After these six of the priuie Counsell in Schollars gownes and ciuill hoods euerie one attended on by a footman bearing on his iacket both behind and before his lords armes according to his office (as it is before mentioned) with torches alsoe in theire hands.

After those two sergeants at armes with great Maces and two Squiers before them with torches, all bare.

After these two hench-men the one with a sword, the other with a scepter, likewise attended by two Squires with torch lighte, all bare.

After these the Prince himselfe in a schollers gowne and ciuill hood, with a coronett of laurell about his hat, attended on by fower footmen in sutable liueries with torches.

After these the Captaine of the guard alone in hose and dublett, hatt and feather etc. and following him, twenty of the guard in sutable guard's coats with halberds in their hands, and lightes intermingled here and there.

When this traine first entred out of the Princes palace there was a volye of shotte to the number of fiftie or threescore gunnes and once againe as it passed through the quadrangle, and the third time when the Prince was readie to enter vppon the stage in the hall, after w^{ch} third peale ended, the nobilitie hauing past along some parte of the stage, the rest of the traine disposed in places prouided for them, and the Prince himselfe newlie entred, the showe went forward.

* * * * * * * * * * *

It hath beene observed if they which performe much in these kinde of sportes must needs doe something amisse, or at the least such is the daunger and trouble of them, that something in the dooing will miscarry, and so bee taken amisse, and such was our fortune at this time; for the Prologue (to the great prejudice of that which followed) was most shamefully out, and having but halfe a verse to say, so that by the very sence the audience was able to prompt him in that which followed, yet hee could not goe forward, but after long stay and silence, was compelled abruptly to leave the stage, whereupon, beeing to play another part, hee was so dasht, that hee did nothing well that night.

After him Good-wife Spiggot comming forth before her time, was most miserably at a non plus & made others so also, whilst her selfe staulked in the middest like a great Harry-Lion (as it pleased the audience to terme it), either saying nothing at all, or nothing to the purpose.

The drunken-man, which in the repetitions had much pleased and done very well, was now so ambitious of his action, that he would needs make his part much longer then it was, and stood so long upon it all, that hee grew most tedious, whereuppon it was well obserued and sayd by one that

——— 'twas pitty there should bee
In any pleasing thing satiety.

To make up the messe of absurdityes the company had so fild the stage, that there was no rome to doe any thing well, to bee sure many thinges were mistaken and therefore could not but bee very distastfull, for it was thought that particuler men were aymed at, and disciphered by the drunken-man, and Justice Bryar, though it was fully knowne to our-selves, that the author had no such purpose.

In fine, expectation the deuourer of all good indeuours had swallowed more in the very name and title of the interlude, then was ether prouided or intended in the whole matter, for wee onely proposed to our selves a shew, but the toune expected a perfect and absolute play, so that all things mett to make us unhappy that night, and had not Time him selfe (whose lines and actions were thought good) somewhat pleased them, they would never haue indured us without hissing, howsoeuer in the end they gaue us two or three cold plaudites though they departed no way satisfyed, unlesse it were in the shew about the quadrangle, wherein the prince was carryed to his chamber in the same state that hee came from thence in the beginning (as is above mentioned), the whole company of actors beeing added to his traine who immediatly followed him before the guard in this order:

First Time alone, attended with two pages and lightes.
Next Veritas alone, likewise attended.
Then Error and Opinion which all the way they went pull'd Veritas by the sleeue, one by one and the other by the other, but shee would not harken to them.
After these came Studioso and Philonices both pleading the case, one upon his fingers and the other with both his hands.
Then came Manco, the lame souldiour and Philonices his man; the souldiour haulting without his cruch, the other beating him with the cruch for counterfeyting.
After these came Clinias and Bellicoso houlding the halter betwixt them, which Bellicoso had found in Clinias his pocket.
Last after these came Humphry Swallow and goodwife Spiggot, hee reeling uppon her, she pulling and hayling him for the money he ought her.
After these came the guard as before, and so the prince in full state was conveyed to his pallace.

Here wee were all so discouraged that wee could haue found in our heartes to have gone no farther. But then consulting with our selues wee thought it no way fitt to leave when thinges were at the worst, and therefore resolved by more industry and better care of those things which should follow, to sue out a fine of recouery for our credites. Whereuppon the comedy which was already a foote and appoynted to bee done on 12 day, was revewed and corrected by the best judgments in the house, & a Chorus by their direction inserted, to excuse former faults, all which was a cause that twelfe eue & twelfe day past away in silence, because the comedy beeing wholy altered could not bee so soone acted, neyther could any other thing bee so suddenly provided to furnish those nights.

Heere the Lord-tresurer made a complaint to the king and the rest of his councell that his treasure was poore and almost exhausted, so that without a fresh supply or new subsedy nothing more could bee doone. And that this might not seeme an idle complaint, a bill of some of the particulars and chiefe expences was exhibited, wherein it might appeare how costly the presedent revels had beene, which bill (for better direction and warning of others heere after how they medle with such sportes) was thought good heere to bee inserted.

THE BILL OF EXPENCES.

	lib.	s.	d.
Imprimis for 40 dozen of linkes	4	10	0
Item for 10 dozen of torches	4	10	0
Item for one dozen of great waxe tapers	0	15	0
Item for a shute of tawny tafety for the prince	4	0	0
Item for a goune for Philomela	3	0	0
Item for 80 yardes of flannel for the guardes coates	5	6	8
Item for buckarum to make Jackets for lackeys & other necessaryes to the number of 40 yardes	1	13	4
Item for two long womans heyres	1	0	0
Item for beardes and mens heades of heyre	0	13	0
Item for fethers, spangles, roses, etcæt.	1	10	0
Item for a coate for Jtis	0	13	4
Item for 2 hundred Yardes of Incle	0	8	4
Item for 4 thousand of pinnes	0	3	0
Item for past-boardes	0	8	0

Item for councellours staues and white wandes	1	0	0
Item for blew silke ribbens and Jewells	0	12	0
Item for buskins and pomps	1	1	0
Item for the princes seale	0	6	8
Item for waxe	0	3	4
Item for a sett of musitians entertayned for the 12 dayes	5	0	0
Item for a trumpeter	1	0	0
Item for the painter	3	10	0
Item to the Taylours, besides dyet	2	0	0
Item to the Carpenters for setting up the stage scaffolds twise and lending boardes etcett.	5	0	0
Item for nayles	1	0	0
Item aloud the prince for his table besides guiftes and his owne great charges	2	0	0
Item aloud for actors suppers beside that was giuen	3	0	0
Item for butter beere at severall times	1	0	0
Item for Thomas Clarke for his journey to London	0	13	4
Item for diuers others for journeys for apparell	0	12	0
Item for guiftes and gratuities	1	10	0
Item for taking downe glasse windoes and mending others which were broken at seuerall times	3	0	0
Item for hyering of apparell, vizards, cottens, etcæt.	2	10	0
Item pay'd to labourours for remouing the snow, for stuffing the hall windoes, & such like offices at sundry times	0	16	0

Summa totalis lxiiij^{li} v^{s} o

This bill beeing seene and allow'd, they begane to cast about for more mony, whereuppon a new privy seale was drawn in Latin in manner and forme following:

PRO ARIS ET FOCIS.

Cum maximorum semper Principum majestati neutiquam offecerit, quod amicos plures, eorumq; operam et subsidium non semel desiderarint; cumq; nobilissimus quisq; peculiari quodam priuilegio plurimum debere consueuerit: Ego, ne in minimo majestatis titulo deficere, aut quovis nobilitatis priuilegio viderer non frui plurimis impulsus angustijs et coactus, (quas nec pro more Principum explicare satis honorificum aut officio tuo exquirere judicamus satis tutum) has ad te mitto literas mandatorias, quarum virtute exigitur summa pecuniæ, quam extemplo nostro huic collectori, pro amoris tui ratione et censu exhibebis. Quam quidem tibi aut hæredibus tuis obligo me et successores meos ad Græcas Calendas fidelitur sine omni fraude aut dolo malo persoluturos. Datum et sigillatum sigillo nostro priuato, ex aulâ candidâ Albæ Fortunatæ, Calendis Februarij, Anno Regni primo.

The name of those which were serued with this writte and obey'd uppon the receipt of it were these that follow.

M^{r} Præsident contributed - - -	1^{li}	0	0
M^{r} Thomas May - - - - - -	1	0	0
M^{r} Iohn Soane - - - - - - -	0	10	0
M^{r} Martin Oakins - - - - - -	0	10	0

M^{r} William Lawde - - - - - -	0	10	0
M^{r} Richard Andros - - - - - -	0	10	0
M^{r} Nicholas Cliffe - - - - - -	0	10	0
M^{r} Michael Boyle - - - - - -	0	10	0

Summa totalis 5^{lib}

This beeing not as yet sufficient there was a new subsedy levyed by the Junior M^{rs} and the rest of the Colledge to the Summe of *Six poundes three shillings* whereuppon finding themselues againe before hand, and resoluing to saue nothing for a deere yeare, they proceeded to new expences and new troubles.

* * *

The Suneday after, beeing the last day of the Vacation and tenth day of the moneth, two shewes were priuately performed in the Lodging, the one presently after dinner called *Somnium Fundatoris,* viz. the tradition that wee have concearning the three trees that wee have in the præsident his garden. This interlude by the reason of the death of him that made it, not long after was lost, and so could not bee heere inserted; but it was very well liked, and so wel deserued, for that it was both wel penned and well acted.

Now because before were diuers youths whose voyces or personages would not suffer them to act any thing in publicke, yet withall it was thought fitt, that in so publicke a buisnes, euery one should doe some thing, therefore a mocke play was prouided called *The 7 Dayes of the Weeke,* which was to bee performed by them which could do nothing in earnest, and, that they should bee sure to spoyle nothing, euery mans part was sorted to his person, and it was resolued that the worse it was done, the better it would be liked, and so it fell out; for the same day after supper it was presented by one which bore the name of the Clarke of S^{t} Gyleses, and acted priuately in the lodging in manner & forme following.

THE SEUEN DAYES OF THE WEEKE.

INTERLOQUTORES

THE CLARKE OF S^{T} GYLESES.
MOONEDAY.
TUSEDAY.
WENESDAY.
THURSEDAY.
FRIEDAY.
SATTERDAY.
SUNEDAY.
NIGHT.

CHORUS.

A WOMAN.
A PAIRE OF SNUFFERS.

Enter the Clarke with all his Acteurs.

PROLOGUE.

Clarke. I am the poore, though not vnletterd, Clarke,
And these yo^{r} subjects of S^{t} Gyles his parishe,
Who in this officious season would not sharke,
But thought to greet your highnesse with a morrice,
Which since my riper judgement thought not fitt,
They haue layd downe their wisedomes to my witt.

And that you might perceive (though seeminge rude)
Wee sauour somewhat of the Academie,
Wee had aduentur'd on an enterlude,
But then of actors wee did lacke a manye;
Therefore we clipt our play into a showe,
Yet bigg enough to speake more then wee knowe.

The subject of it was not farr to seeke,
Fine witts worke mickle matter out of nifles:
Nam'de it I haue *Y^e^ Seaven Dayes of y^e^ Weeke,*
Which though perchaunce graue heads may judge a trifle,
Yet if their action answeare but my penninge,
You shall heare that, that will deserve a hemminge.

To tell the argument, were to forstale
And sowre y^e^ licquour of our sweete conceate;
Here are good fellowes that will tell you all
When wee begin once, you shall quickely ha'te,
Which if your grace will grace with your attention,
You shall soone sounde the depth of our invention.

ACT I.

Enter Mundaye.

Munday. I Munday am, not he surnam'd the blacke
But any ordinarye one beside—
Clarke. Why, Jacke, Jacke, a pox on thee, come in and be hang'd,
Night should haue come out first. *Exeunt.*

Enter Sunday-Night, cum Luna et alijs pertinentijs, walkes to the farther end, there stayes, and then speakes.

Night. Peace, sad Musitions of y^e^ silent night,
The dolefull Nightingall and dreadfull Owle;
With doggs shutt out of doores that cannot bite
Although they barke, and at my moonshine howle:
Now Night growes old, yet walkes here in his trappinge
Till Daye come catch him, as Mosse his graymare, nappinge.
Munday comes and beates him out.

Mundaye. I Munday am, not he surnam'd the blacke,
But any ordinarye one besyde;
Who though I carry Sunday on my backe,
Thinke not that I am to his girdle tyed,
For though his cost as myne I had as leefe vse,
Yet Munday cannot liue with Sundayes refuse.

Hither I come, directed by my paper,
To tell my name, and that's already ended:
Then to sitt downe (which is as little labour)
I would that each man here were so befrended:
This oft my part is, but a little crumme
You shal heare more, when as more actors come.
Sedet, cum lucerna, &c.

Enter Mundaye-Night as before, then Tuesday beatinge him out.

Twesday. Avaunt blacke night, seest thou not Twesday morne
Do I not looke like Mars his minion?
(Gentlemen, tis my parte to speake in scorne
To Munday-night, & not mine owne opinion)
For, for myne owne part (not to spoyle the play)
I like the night farr better then the day.

I come vnto you on a sleevelesse erraunde
To tell that Twesday is my name authenticke,
Farther to singe or say I haue no warraunt,
Mundayes commission and myne are Jdenticke;
For though wee came not hand in hand together,
You may well thinke we are both birds of a feather.
Sedet.

Enter Twesday night as before, then Wednesday beatinge him out.

Wednesday. The pilfringe herauld of y^{e} thunder-thumper
(I hope these hard words doe not fright your senses
I sweare tis not our meaninge, gratious vmpeere,
To ravish you with showe of bad prætenses)
Gaue me my name, which yet perchaunce you know not,
Yet 'tis no riddle bound vp in a bow-knott.

In Ember-weeks I putt on Frydayes bases,
And once a yeare my name begins with Ashe;
With many other pretty paraphrases
I could suspend you, yet figures are but trash.
My name is Wednesday, that's the short and long,
Now I sitt downe, you shall heare more anon.
Sedet.

Enter Wednesday-night as before.

Thursday. Now Thursday comes, of every weeke the middle,
As you may see by the standing of my stoole;
Iocund I am and merry as a fiddle,
Perpetuall play-day for the boyes at schoole;
A mortall enemy to fish and white meats,
My belly findes no ballast in such slight meats.

And had not Sunday come and kept his station
As Sunday did, I'had wip't his nose of that'place,
For were I in his fine apparrellation,
I were as good as Sunday, that's a flat case,
But I haue gone beyond my short commission,
Sitt downe, and make some vse of Sundayes cushion.
Sedet.

Enter Thursday-night as before.

Friday. I would not haue you load my backe with mocks
Though I come lade with river and sea fishes,
Perchaunce you'had rather haue each eele an oxe,
And so would I, but 'twill not come with wishes:
I am leane Friday, brought vpp in a Colledge,
That never made good meale ṽto my knowledge.

Stepp forth Clarke.

Clarke. Nott till this yeare in truth a'nt please yo^{r} L.
I had forgotten y^{t} Christmas-day was on a friday.
Say on Frydaye.
Frydaye. Born was J in y^{e} frosty winter quarter

Nipt with y^{e} cold, I haue ere since been hide'bounde,
I could leape through & through a nett workt garter,
Thinne as a wafer, hungrye as a tyed'hounde:
But though it please you thus to heare me tell'woes,
Yet I must speake no more t'ye then my fellowes.
Sedet.

Enter Fryday-night as before.

Saturdaye. Saturne (sayth M^{r} Pond y^{e} Alminakian)
Giues mee my name, looke there and you shall find it,
Which if you haue not, hee'le soone make you one
For the next yeere too, though this were behinde yett;
Take then this rule from his vnerringe science,
I am halfe holy-day by my alliance.

This is a little piece of Frydayes Jackett
(Friday surnam'd the good but once a yeare)
Who though perchaunce this weather hee may lack it
Yet I must ha'te to signifye my cheare,
Which is the same with fryday in each particle;
To sitt downe when we have done is our first article.
Sedet.

Enter Saterday-night as before.

Sundaye. Long look't for Sunday in his best apparell
Comes forth, both for to see and to be seene,
About which part though there were some small quarrell
Yet priviledge of person made it myne;
For Sundaye spake not till a clarke had taught hir[1]
And who should haue the best part but the author.

These six you see are all day-labourers,
Hindes y^{t} scrape mony vpp for me (God send it)

---

[1] *Hic vel hæc dics,* a'nt please yo^{r} lor^{pp}. wee gram̄arians vse it indifferently.

Which I at y^{e} Alehouse mongst y^{e} pipes & tabourers
Forgett how hard it came, and lightly spend it;
  I Sunday am, and you are all come hither
  To see (o straunge)[1] two Sundayes met togither.

Now y^{t} you know our names (great Prince) to make no farther smoother,
Wee will goe forward with our shew, & talk to one another,
  And any one in gowne or cloake
  Hath licence to put in his spoke.
Sunday sitts downe.

Enter a woman (Chorus)

Woman. A play without a woman in 't
Is like a face without a nose;
Therefore I come that strife to stinte
Though I haue nought to say God knowes;
And since I can no matter handle
I'le come sometymes to snuffe their candles.

ACT 2

Enter Night without his name.

Night. Blacke night as black as any mourninge sable is
Comes for to prompt the Actors if they stumble,
For who can see what night doth say, or able is
To heare how night doth walke about & mumble.
  Now any night, but when one goes away
  I'le be the night belonginge to that day.

Sunday. Now neighbour workidayes, for so you are tearmed,
Tell your graue eares I must, a straunge relation;
The yeare (you know) call'd Annus of vs learned
Consists of our rounde runninge corporation;
  And as we doe o^{r} duetyes in our places,
  The yeare hee makes better or worser faces.

---

[1] Acted on a Sunday.

Annus already hath found out some faults
That should be Fridayes [a] doing, by description,
Which though the yeare winke at, you cannot halt
Before a cripple without some suspition
To prevent then, where faulty he findes you in,
By me hee warnes you of these scapes ensuinge.
First M^{r}. Munday you are accused to be
A great ingrosser vpp of my best vittayles;
You cannot worke i'th' morne (a tricke of a loobye)
Cause Sunday stick yet by you (are these fitt tales?)
Make answer if you can, and whilest I stay b'ye
Speake each man for himselfe as well as may be.

Munday. Hold harte, hold buttons, or else I shall burst,
Hee that committs the fault doth call whoore first,
Do I for this rise vpp to make all quiett
Ere breake of day, & cover Sundayes riott;
Do I make cawdles earely ere he stirre yet
And possett drinks to parboile his night's surfeitt?
And doth y^{e} glutton, seinge howe I am payn'd here,
Grudge me a little of his cold remainder?
Now I see well vertue and good desart
Are lightly set by, & not worth a fart—

(*Clarke.* I badd you putt in *Sir reverence,* but y^{e} rime is sweete enoughe.)

Well-meaninge Munday put for his manhood mickle
A hundred tymes at least in the Chronickle.
The birth-day vnto many noble Princes,
And good queene Hellen fairest of all wenches,
Accus'd by Sunday, and at such a time,
As but for Munday he would want a rime!
I that of seaven haue the eldest brothers callinge,
Am made a younger brother by the dawlinge.
Why say you not that Munday will bee drunke,
Keeps all vnruly wakes, & playes at trunkes,

---

[a] *Times Complaint* mislik't by y^{e} vulgar, acted on a Friday.

Yet putt these Sunday faultes vpon my back,
Sunday will haue enough to fill a sack.
Kinde friends, ere I am gone a hundred paces,
This same may chaunce to bee one of your cases.
Therefore you shall doe wisely to consider
How these circumstances do hange togither,
For trueth herselfe if shee were brought in question
Could never answer every false suggestion:
Therefore I'le make no answeare, but deny all,
Vntill hee brings his tenne peny naile of tryall.

Sundaye. Mundaye you are a dangerous headed fellowe,
And well your witt serues for to worke your tale;
Yet must you giue me leaue that for to tell you
Wich was giuen me in charge, and not to rayle;
I for myselfe am satisfied at full
And you may now be gone e'ne when you wull.

Munday. Thus haue I done my part, yet here must stay
Till Munday-night come drive me hence away.

Munday-night comes and putts out his Candle, and beates him in.

Night. Now observe you what night doth doe,
And to his hands bee heedfull,
For sleepie night hath no delight
To talke more then is needfull.
Night speaks no more, I am of Vertues faction,
The best of my part doth consist of action.

Clarke. That Munday holdes his head downe on this fashion,
Com's by his stoopinge to his occupation;
He is a thresher, & but for that one thinge
He might beseme to play before a Kinge,
For in pitty hee would make you weepe fiue winters
To see him thresh a passion into splinters.

Enter Chorus.

Chorus. If any be so wise to aske,
Why I will not put off my maske,

Make him this answer I beseech you;—
'Tis least my beutye should bewitch you.
  Now to beare all things scoller-like before vs
  My candle-snuffinge shall serve for a chorus. *Exit.*

ACT 3

Sundaye. Indifferent Tuesday who could once imagine
Munday & Thursday could haue made you factious;
Against these other three your spite to evagine.
As though that fish-day were a name so captious;
  Seekinge to sever and with wild inventions
  Fire y^e furrsfaggott of dissentions.
Yet were this nothinge if you were not noted
For a furtherer of Shrove-tydes drunken bouses,
Whom flickringe fame hath in her tables quoted
For pullinge downe of honest good whoorehouses,
  But since y^t in yo^r knaveries you are tan'e, sir,
  To make things short, goe on, sir, with yo^r answer.
Tuesday. My freinds, would you were all naild vpp for socketts
If you will put your heads in Sundayes pocketts;
Who'le be a servitour, if for each pettyt fact
He shall be ever after credit crackt:
I that two and fifty times a yeare attend him,
Cannot be allowed one day my sports to spend in;
Some badd mischaunces and haps accidentall
May one Tuesday fall, but never by him ment all;
And for two or three shrewed turnes which are soone numbred,
Of my good deeds Ile reckon vp a hundred:
Bouzer I am not, but mild, sober Tuesday
As catt in cap case, if I light not on S^t Hewsday;[a]
Yet in my minde tis not vnfittinge neither
The gentle craft should licquer well their leather:
Now could I furnish all your expectations
With a longe speech of mine owne commendations,

---

[a] The Shoemakers holy-day.

But michinge modestie is such a clogge,
I shall blush at it streight like a black dogge.
Now setts the sunne, darke growes the day so lightsome,
He putts out his candle.
Yet must I stand still here vntill the night's come.

Enter Night as before to Mundaye.

Sunday. This Tuesday is a Thatcher by his science,
That with this frost hath stood with long defiaunce;
And holdes it fitt for Christian and for Turke
To be a player when he cannot worke.

Enter Chorus.

Chorus. Thus sceane by sceane, and stepp by stepp,
From act to act our showe doth leape,
And I come ever and anon
To tell how many Acts are gone;
Which are as many odd and even
As these fowre candles want of seauen. *Exit.*

ACT 4

Sunday. It was, and still will be, a thankelesse office
To tell men of their faults, though ne're so palpable,
Yet in this case I'le not be made a novice
But speake my minde free if I see them culpable,
  And therefore Wednesday rubbe up your best reasons
  To quitt yourselfe of these suspected treasons.
You are a neutrall neyther syde affectinge,
Nor fish nor flesh, nor very good red herringe,
The doubtfull end of opposites expectinge
Leane to the strongest, till then never stirringe;
  You that by one dayes fast, by name Ashwednesday
  Bate a man more then he hath gott in tenne dayes.
You are a pickthanke but come answer this first.

Wednesday. Wednesday the wise, that would not touch edgde tooles,
For his not medlinge is now calld a foole.
Plaine dealing's thought the bratt of silly follye,
And men must shuffle and cut now velle, nolle.
But peace, Detraction, thou base gruntinge curre,
If I moove once, I'le make a stinkinge stirre.
I haue but one sett fast in the whole yeare,
Put physically, next to belly cheare,
I'th' Bacchanalls, yet am I sayd to famish
Men that are then fatt as capon cram'd is.
But hence away with troublesome devotion,
Fasting's as bad as a poticaryes potion.
Had I his nimble wings whose name I carry,
Among such paltry fellowes I'de not tarry.

Sunday. Very like, for you haue his nimble fingers, such
Like birdlime that take vpp what ere they touch,
And honest you may be, yet some mens harde lucks
In Wednesday market lost their purse at Carefux.

Wednesday goes fuminge and stampinge vpp and downe, and Night fetcheth him out; then Sunday speakes.

Sunday. Perchaunce you looke that Wednesday should haue spoken, but you must suppose that a man would be so mooved with these objections that he would not speake for anger.
By trade he's a joyner & his part vnderstands,
And speaks well enough though he use not his hands.

Enter Chorus.

Chorus. If Wednesday spake here in his furious fitt,
No doubt you hard great store of little witt.
The fourth act's done, they are short, & we most warye
Haue therefore made two more then ordinarye.
Play, Musicke, play, and hide so straunge a fact,
J (though a woman) silent am this act. *Exit*

ACT 5.

Sunday. Now my corrivall that with looks gainsayinge
Dost view my pompe, I speake not this in choller,
Thursday y'are idle, adle, ever playinge,
Vtter vndoer of a grammar-scholler.
Whose negligence (if I haue not heard a lye)
Maks Friday be so cruell, now replye.

Thursday. That bagg that other mens defaults are put in
Wee beare before vs, ready still to looke in,
But nature was to blame, that in this kinde
Made not an eye to see our owne behinde.
I, that in tender care and kinde compassion
Giue scollers leaue to play for recreation,
Am an idle fellowe, therefore I will waken
The sleepinge proverbe—Each thing 's as tis taken.
Did y^{e} old world dote, thinke you, or but dallye,
That grac'd me onely with the name of holye?[a]
That world which had as much skill in one finger
To judge of men, as fourty figure flingers.
But what an asse am J in tearmes præciser,
To care what Sunday sayes, beinge no wiser?
These are but his devises to defame vs,
I will myselfe goe talke with Monsieur Annus.

Sundaye. Yes, so you maye; come, Night, dispatch him hence,
Annus will rattle him in an other sence.
This is the fellowe would haue playd my part,
Though neyther fitt by nature or by art.
Here is a taylour, but to tell would tyre one
Which is most goose, hee or his pressing iron?

Enter Chorus.

Chorus. Because the night hath many misty vapoures
Chorus hath care to keepe bright burninge tapours;

---

[a] Holy Thursday, Ascension Day.

Nor is that all, but least it might be wandringe,
To snuffe the light too of your vnderstandinge;
If any speach haue past beyond your kenninge
Chorus, if she may knowe it, will tell the meaninge.
Exit.

ACT 6.

Sunday. Ill favoured Friday, curs'd, bande, & defied
By all saue those that dwell by the sea-syde;
Fee'd by physitions that hate health and quiett,
To poyson nature with unholsome dyett
Of fish and rootes; worse things then charme or philter
To put precisest bodyes out of kilter;
Your tricks are many, my witts so affrightinge
That I was faine to putt them downe in writtinge:
He delivers him a Paper.
All which doe shewe your spite vnto the land,
Settinge the sea vpon the vpper hand.

Friday. Though you are a Clarke, and I am but a ditcher,
You know not whether sea or land be richer
No more then I, therefore till that be tryed
The sea may stand sometymes on th'vpper syde.
And though there be of flesh as yett gods plentye
With other helpes, yet if of fish I graunt ye;
Flesh wilbe wasted so with often carveinge
That you may hang yourselves for feare of starvinge:
For other crimes whereof I am indighted,
If by my L. good patience I might reade,
I could in two or three words quite confute 'hem,
Or with as long an answeare quickely sute 'hem,
But 'twould be tædious your nice eares benumminge,
And Night you see looks for his que to come in.

Enter Friday-night as before.

Friday had finisht his part very nought'ily,
Had he acted as bad as he spake softly;

Paines I tooke with him, but though yo'r life you should leese,
He will neuer speake lowder then a mouse in a cheese

Enter Chorus.

Chorus. Behinde my backe you'le say anon,
That Chorus should speake Pro and Con;
But Common-sense will never suffer 's
To speake for y^e^ Candle against the snuffers. *Exit.*

ACT 7.

Sunday. Now, Saturday, thinke not I beare any evill edge
Against your person, though I warne you stand fast,
Nor thinke, though you weare gay clothes, by an Eeves priviledge,
From y^e^ wast downe-ward you shal be uncanvast.
Yes, though you were a man of silke and velvet,
Yet you shall heare your owne, if I can helpe it.
You euer were, and are still (by this hand)
A common taverne, alehowse hunter, marke it,
That drawe in simple countrey-fellowes, and
Send them home drunke that sober came to market,
And havinge but an egg before you sett fast,
Invite all batchelors of ars to break-fast.
Saturday. Who is't that knowes how neere we two are borderinge
Could thinke Sunday would shake me such a foddringe?
I am his Steward, and his carefull Caterer,
Gentleman-vsher and his yeoman fewterer:
Make his provision, but this is the spite on't,
I buy good meate but never eate a bitt ont:
With carefull search I robb ponds, rivers, seas
Of fishe and foule, his dainty mouth to please,
Nor on y^e^ land is that meat hee can wishe,
But Sunday finds it ready in his dishe,

Yet for this am I banded as a ball is,
And pounded with the pestle of peevishnesse in y^e morter of malice.

(*Clark.* Soft, & be hangd; you have marrd a good verse :)

Service hath small reward, good turnes oft paine vs,
And still wee scorne the meane that doth maintaine vs.
I could reply to all, but see no fittnesse
For vs to make more words without more wittnesse.
A drowsy humour on me now encroachinge
Shewes melancholy night to bee approachinge;
And see, hee comes, S^t Sol his owne eye closes,
Putts out his candle.
And I must sneake away vnder your noses.

Enter Saturday-night as before.

Sunday. This is our pinders boy, sonne to a drover,
That cannot keepe his mouth from runninge over.
But Nature was mistaken, or did wrounge
In a mans head to put a womans tounge,
Yet next time, if my braynes their vertues holde,
I'le fitt him right, for he shall play a scolde.—
Hee calls aside.
Why, night, come & fetch mee away, you never marke yo^r Q.
Going out, returnes and speakes.
But yet to keepe our order right
You must heare what hee is that playes this Night;
Though it neede not, for you may see, I wis,
He was made for a butcher, and so he is.
Chorus. As true as y^e oracle at a place call'd Delphos
That vnknowne fortunes & darke dreames did tell folks,
So stand I here, and if ought want vnmaskinge
Speake quickely, this is y^e last time of askinge,
And I may keepe my hands still in my muffe,
For heere is never a candle left to snuffe.

Playe, Musicke, playe, though we haue hewd & hact,
Yet let them all know, this is our last act.
Sunday. This was a Quea'ster not to speake it in vauntinge
You may know't by his voyce, but his maintenaunce wantinge,
He would needs be a sawyer in any case
That still he might go by his rule, lyne, & space.
Hee ryses and speakes of himselfe.
Should I not make this senselesse stoole too proude,
I'de dresse him in my clothes, set my light on him,
And then tell Sunday of his faults so loud
That y^e bare walles here should crye out, fye on him:
But you would sweare my pate had need bee purged
If I should tell myne owne faults beinge not vrged.
I will not presse yo^r patience with long talke,
I do not doubt you think I am not blamelesse—
To play thus on a Sunday is a fault
With many other which shall now bee namelesse.
For this I red once in a song I spied,
The fox though vnholy hath the grace to hide.
Exit.

EPILOGUE.

Enter Clarke with the rest.

Great Prince and mighty monarch of this place,
The very capp of curtesy and kindnesse,
Thinke not we come to prayse you to your face,
For we would say as much were you behinde vs.
If we haue moov'd offence, I say, that If,
Let not your princely choller stand too stiff.
For 'twas the hart-burninge of o^r duety drove vs
To these our shifts of witt, now if your favour,
That runnes so fast & did to this worke moove vs,
Should with this nights cold sport bee frozen over,
Such an vnkinde cold might take vs at y^e matter
That wee might loose our tongs for ever after.

But if the lanthorne of yo^r^ Lordshipps love
Shall light vs home through y^e^ mist of reprehension,
From y^e^ distaffe of o^r^ duetye we will proove
To draw a threed of a more fine invention:
And when your brayne, feeles any payne,
With cares of state & troubles,
We'el come in kindnesse to put your highnesse
Out of y^r^ mumble fubbles.

Nothing throughout the whole yeare, was better liked and more pleasant then this shewe, in so much that, allthough it were more priuately done before our selves onely or some few freinds, yet the report of it went about all the towne, tell it came to the Vice-chauncellours and my L. Cliffords eares, who were very desyrous to see it acted againe, and so it was as heereafter shal bee specifyed.

The next day beeing Munday the 11 of January the terme should have begun in the house, but because of the extreame cold and froast which had now continued full six weekes and better without any intermission as also by reason the hall was still pestered with the stage and scaffolds which were suffered to stand still in expectation of the Comedy, therefore it was agreed by the Præsident and the officers that the terme should bee prorogued for 7 dayes longer in which time it was agreed the Comedy should bee publickely acted on Frieday the 15th day of January.

But heere the Præsident and some of the Seniors in abundance of care were affrayd to put any thing againe to the publicke view of the Vniuersity, because their last paines at *The Complaint of Time* had so ill thriuing. Besides the season was so seuere and tempestuous with wind and snow, which had continued some dayes without ceasing, and the complaint of the poore was so greiuious for want of wood and meate, which by this time were growne very scant and deere, that they urged it was a time rather to lament and weepe then make sports in, whereupon a streight inhibition was sent out from the officers, that no man should thinke of playing that night or any time after, tell the weather should breake up and bee more temperate, for they thought it no way fitt puplickly to revell at a time of such generall wo and calamity.

But yet because all thinges were in a readinesse and the expectation of the whole toune was set uppon that night, the younger men of the Colledge went forward with there buisnes, intending to take no notice of what the officers had aggreed uppon, wherefore some of the officers were fayne to come in person to forbid the worke-men, and to undo some things which were already done, to the great greife and discouragment of all the youth, who, though the weather was extreame cold, were themselues most hotte uppon the matter in hand, resoluing now or neuer to recouer their losse credit.

And, as though the heavens had favoured their designes, so it happened that about noone the weather brake up and it begann to thaw, whereuppon the Præsident was agayne importun'd by the prince himselfe and his councell for the performance of the Comedy that night; who (seeing they were all so earnest) did not so much graunt, as not deny them, their request, whereuppon they begann againe to sett forward the buisnes and what they wanted in time, they made up by their willingnesse and paynes, so that for all these crosses they begann the play before 7 a clocke and performed it in manner following:

PHILOMATHES.

INTERLOQUTORES

CHORUS.

JANUS.
TEMPUS.

MOTUS.
QUIES.

LOCUS.
VACUUM.

PHILOMATHES.
CHRYSOPHILOS, SENEX AVARUS.
PHANTASTA, STOLIDUS GENEROSUS.
Αφρόνιος, FILIUS CHRYSOPHILI.

SOPHIA.
AUTARCHIA.
AUTHADIA.
ANÆA, MULIER INEPTA.

CHRESTOPHILOS, SOCIUS PHILOMATHIS.
CRITO, SENEX, PATER SOPHIÆ.
CRITONIS SERUUS.
CERDOOS, SERUUS CHRYSOPHILI.
PETINUS, SERUUS PHANTASTÆ.

* * * * * * * * * * *

This play was very well acted, but especially the Chorus, the stage was never more free, the audience neuer more quiett, and contented, so that they went away many of them crieing—*Abundè satisfactum est!* itt was so well liked and applauded of all that saw itt.

Here the stage & scaffold were pul'd downe w^{ch} had stood from Cristmas, and it was resolued that vpon the chaunge of the weather, the terme should begin on the Munday followeing.

But in the meane time on Sunday nighte, being the Seventeenth of January, the Vicechancelor and the L. Clifford wth many other

D^{rs} and Gentlemen were inuited to supper in the Præsidents lodging, where after supper they were entertained with a shew before mentioned, to witt, *The 7 Daies in the Weeke,* to which, by this time, there was somewhat added, but not much: all was most kindely accepted, and the nighte was spent in great mirth. For the straungenes of the matter, and rarity of the fashion of their action pleased above expectation.

At the end of this shew for the more rarity, there was one brought in my Lord's Stockes wth this speech made vppon itt:

"My Lord, I w^{ch} am the lowest, am now become the lowdest though (I hope) not the lewdest of your Lo^{rpps} seruauntes. And though I come *pridie Calendas,* before I am cald, yet (I hope) my audacity shall have audience, and my faithfulnes fauor. I am yo^{r} Lōrppes Elephaunt and heere is yo^{r} castell, so that where other Lords are brought to their castells, heere yo^{r} castell is brought to you. *Est locus in carcere,* there is a locke vpon yo^{r} Lor̃pp's castell, which was committed vnto my trust, how faithfull I have bene therein, they can tell who haue taken an exact measure of my office by the foote: the matter of w^{ch} your castell is builded is so precious, that there is none amongst company, but is contented to weare of it wthin his buttons, the end for w^{ch} it was builded is very commendable, that they may bee kepte in order wth wood, w^{ch} otherwise wou'd not bee kepte in order, heere is *fons latus pedibus tribus,* a fountaine to wash three mens legs, that they w^{ch} have bene *aurium tenus,* ouer shoes, heere may bee *crurum tenus* over bootes too, This yo^{r} Lor^{pps} oracle or Tripos, out of which malefactors tell the truth and foretell of their amendment. Nay, I wilbee bould to compare it to yo^{r} Lor̃^{pps} braine, for what is there designed is heere executed. In these sells or ventricles are fancy, vnderstanding, and memory. For such as yo^{r} Lo^{rp} doth not fancy are put in the first hole, such as were dull and wthout vnderstanding were put in the second hole, but such as yo^{r} Lor̃p threatned (remember this) or I'le remember you, were put in the last and lowest dungeon, *cum nemini obtrudi potest itur ad me.* When they cannot bee ruled otherwise they are brought vnto mee, and my entertainement is *strato discumbitur ostro,* they straite sett downe att this oister table, where they are fast and doe fast, ffor *viuitur exiguo melius,* they make small meales, till the flames of clemency doe mitigate the Salamanders of yo^r^ Lorpp^s^ severity. Now, my Lord, since I have told you what I am, I will bee bold to tell you what you may bee—You are mortall—Ergo you must die, the three sisters will not spare you, though you were there owne brother, and therefore while you have yo^r^ good witts about you, *fac quid vobis,* make y^r^ will, that wee may know amongst so many well deseruing men, that doe lay claime to this yo^r^ castell, to whome as rightfull heire itt shall lawfully descend, that so all controuersies being ended, before yo^r^ Lor^pps^ deceasse, hereafter yo^r^ bones may ly, and wee yo^r^ subjectes live, in all rest and quietnes.

Dixi."

To make an end of this nightes sporte, all departed merry and very well pleased, the actors were much commended, and the terme for their sakes prorogued one day longer.

On the Thursday following the Prince was solemnely invited by the Canons of Christchurch to a comedy called *Yuletide,* where many thinges were either ill ment by them, or ill taken by vs, but wee had very good reason to thinke the former, both for that the whole towne thoughte so, and the whole play was a medley of Christmas sportes, by w^ch^ occasion Christmas Lords were much jested at, and our Prince was soe placed that many thinges were acted vpon him, but yet, M^r^ deane himselfe, then vice-chancelor, very kindly sent for the Prince and some others of o^r^ howse, and laboured to satisfie vs, protesting that no such thing was mente, as was reported, whereupon wee went away contented, and forbore the speaking of many things w^ch^ otherwise were afterwards intended, for aunswering of them in their owne kind.

On Candlemas nighte it was thoughte by o^r^ selves, and reported in the Towne, that the Prince should resigne his place, but nothing being in a readines for that purpose itt was differed, but yet, least nothing should bee done, there was a Vigilate (as they terme it) a watching nighte procured by the Prince and his Counsell, and graunted by the officers of the Colledge, w^{ch} was ꝑformed in manner following.

THE VIGILATE.

First, about eighte of the Clocke (for then itt was to begin, and to continue till fowre in the Morning) the Colledge gates were shutt, and all the students summon'd by the sounding of a Trumpett three times, to make their ꝑsonall appearaunce in the greate Hall, where after they were all come together, that the Princes pleasure might bee the better knowne, this proclamation was publikely pronounced by a Serjeant att Armes, in the hearing of them all.

PRO ARIS ET FOCIS.

The high and mighty Thomas by the fauour of Fortune Prince of Alba Fortunata, Lord S^{t} Iohns, High Regent of the Hall, &c. To all Presidents, Vice Presidents, Officers, Readers, M^{rs}. Batchelors, Felowes, Schollers, Commoners, Vnder-commoners, Seruaunts, Seruitors, sendeth greeting.

Whereas of late by the turbulent spirits of seditious minded ꝑsons hath bene buzzed into the eares of many of our louing and liege subjectes a fearefull and dangerous report of o^{r} sudden downefall, which according to their libelling speeches should att this nighte fall vpon vs—Wee haue thought it necessary not so much for o^{r} owne feares w^{ch} are none at all, as for satisfieing and strengthening o^{r} welmeaning freinds in their love and duty, to publish and by these presents to all o^{r} loyall subjects of what state and condic̄on soever, that they make their ꝑsonall appearaunce to the setting and furnishing of a most strong guarde and carefull watch as well for their security as the safety of o^{r} owne royall ꝑson, & the whole Common-wealth; In the w^{ch} generall watch for the better comfort and ease of all men, o^{r} selfe, wth o^{r} honourable privy counsell, and the rest of o^{r} Nobility, intend to bee ꝑsonally present.

But because wee are no way minded to oppresse any man above his power, on o^{r} princely bounty, wee giue licence to such as (for age or infirmity) are not able to ꝑforme that duty, to forfaite for their absence, yf they pleade age, ij^{s} vj^{d}; if infirmity, xij^{d}, towards y^{e} furnishing of his Highnes with a tall and sufficient watchman.

Now because that w^{ch} wee haue wisely thought, and for o^{r} peace and safety, may not prooue the cause of new troubles and dissentions, wee haue thought good to adjoine some few cautions, in way of admonitions to bee obserued.

First, for that the disorders of an vnruly and mutinous watch doe often open as it were the gate of danger and outrage, o^{r} princely will and pleasure is, that each man keepe his station wth out murmuring, ꝑforming cheerefully all such offices and duties, as shal bee lawfully enjoin'd by vs, or o^{r} offices, vpon paine of forfeiting ij^{s} vj^{d}, as for age.

Seacondly because sloth is a kind of disease in a well ordered Common-wealth wee further charge and command by the vertue of o^{r} absolute authority, that no man bee found winking, or pincking, or nodding, much lesse snorting, vpon paine of forfaiting twelve pence as for infirmity.

Thirdly for the auoiding of a sudden dearth, or lingring famine w^{ch} may ensue and justly follow the free an vndoubted liberty of a riotous and luxurious time, yt is by vs thought necessary that no man should in hugger mugger eate or drincke more then is publickly seene and allowed by the face of the body civill and politicke, vpon paine of paieing twise, for such is in a manner stolne ꝓuision and the second pai^{mt} to bee arbitrary.

Given att o^{r} Mannor of Whites-hall the seacond of February and in the first of o^{r} Raigne.

◆

This proclamation beeing read and set up in the great hall, the prince called for his officers and seruants about him charging every man carefully to execute his office. First the steward and buttler (who for their auncient fidelity kept their places according as they had long before beene appointed by the colledge) were commaunded to bring their bookes, and by them to call up all the howse whereupon (every one beeing first charged to awnswere to his name) it presently appeared who were present and who were absent.

After this the M^{r} of the Revels and the Knight Marshall were willed to appoint severall sportes that no man might bee seene idle upon payne of the princes high displeasure whereupon presently some went to cardes, some to dice, some to dauncing, every one to some thing.

Not long after, for more variety sake, there was brought in a maske; the devise was sudden and ex tempore, videl: a little page attired in his long coats, with these six verses which were spoke as soone as he entred the hall.

These are six carpet knights, and J one page
Can easily bring in six that bee of age,

They come to visite this your highnes court,
And if they can, to make your honour sport.
Nay this is all, for I haue seene the day
A richer maske had not so much to say.

After these maskers had finished the measures, and some few other daunces, the said page waued them forth with his wan, and spake these two verses :

There are three they say would shew you an anticke,
But when you see them, you'l thinke them franticke.

Then there came in three in an anticke which were well attyred for that purpose, and daunced well to the great delite of the beholders.

After these had stollen away one by one, as the manner is, it pleased the prince to aske what was a clocke, it beeing aunswered almost twelue hee presently call'd in for supper. But first the bill of those which were before noted to bee absent was call'd, to see whether any of them would yet appeare, and the prince would deale favorably with them. It was also examined whether any of those which were present before were now gon to bed, and accordingly authority was given by the prince to the marshalls of the hall and other officers to search the chambers for sleepers, and where they made aunswere to aske the reason of their slothfull neglect or wilfull contempt of the princes commaunds, and if they pleaded ether infirmity or age to take there fine, and so quietly to depart, first causing them faithfull to give their words that they harboured no other idle or suspicious parsons. But if they knoct at any of the chambers of those that were absent and nobody would answer, then they had full authority to breake open the dores and to make a privy search, and if they found any abed they tooke them as they were in their shirts and carryed them downe in state to the hall after this manner :

First went the marshals with lights to make room.
Then came on squire carrying the goune of him whome they
brought and another that carryed his hatt & band.

Then came two other squires whereof one carryed his dublet the other his breeches.
Then came two with lights.
Next came he that was in his shirt carryed by two in a chaire and covered with a blancket.
Last behind came one squire more that carryed his shoes & stockings.

All these beeing entred the hall, the squires made their attendance about him with great observance, every one reaching him his apparrell as it pleased him to call for it, and then also helping him on with it. And this was the punishment of those that were found a bed.

Others which were found up in their chambers & would not answer were violently brought downe with bills and staves as malefactors and by the Knight Marshals appointment were committed close prisoners to the princes castle, videl. the stocks, which were placed upon a table to that purpose, that those which were punished might bee seene to the terrour of others.

By this time supper was ready and the sewer call'd to the dresser whereupon the buttery bell was presently rung as it uses to bee at other ordinary meales, besides a trumpet was sounded at the kitchen hatch to call the wayters together.

After the first messe was served in, the prince with the rest of his councell satt downe, then all the rest of the howse in seniority.

Towardes the end of supper two gentlemen of the second table fell out, wee could neuer distinctly know about what, it was verely supposed themselves scarsly knew, but from wordes they fell suddenly to blowes, and ere any man was aware, on of them had stabbed the other into the arme with his knife to the great præjudice of the mirth, which should or would haue followed that night. But the offender was presently apprehended (and though a gentleman of some worth) put into my Lord's stocks, where hee lay most part of that night with shame and blame inough. And yet for all that punishment the next day he was convented before the officers of the colledge, and there agayne more greivously punished; for the fault was much agravated by the circumstances of the time, place and person that was hurt, who was a very worshipfull knights sonne and heyre.

After this the prince with some of the better sort of the howse beeing much disconted with the mischaunce that had happened, retyred themselves into the president lodging, where priuatly they made themselues merry, with a wassall called the five bells of Magdalen church, because it was an auncient note of those bells, that they were almost neuer silent. This shew for the better grace of the night was performed by some of the M^rs and officers themselues in manner following:

Enter the Clarke of Magdalens alone.

Your kind acceptance of the late devise
Presented by S^t Gyles's clarke, my neighbour,
Hath hartned mee to furnish in a trice
This nights up sitting with a two hovres labour:
  Ffor any thing, I hope, though ne're so naghty
  Wil be accepted in a Vigilate.

I have observed as your sportes did passe all
(A fault of mine to bee to curious)
The twelfe night slipt away without a wassall,
A great defect, to custome most injurious:
  Which I to mend have done my best indeavour
  To bring it in, for better late then never.

And more, for our more tuneable proceeding,
I have ta'ne downe the five bells in our towre,
Which will performe it, if you give them heeding,
Most musically, though they ring an hovre.—
  Now I go in to oyle my bells and pruin them,
  When I com downe Ile bring them downe & tune them.
Exit.

After a while he returned with five others presenting his five bels, and tyed with five bel-ropes, which after he had pulled one by one, they all began a peale, and sang in Latin as followeth:

Jam sumus lætis dapibus repleti,
Copiam vobis ferimus fluentem,
Gaudium vobis canimus jocose
Vivite læti.

Te deum dicunt (venerande Bacche)
Te deam dicunt (reverenda mater)
Vos graves vobis removete luctus:
Vivite læti.

Dat Ceres vires, hominumque firmat
Corpora, et Bacchus pater ille vini
Liberat curis animos molestis:
Vivite læti.

Ne dolor vestros animos fatiget,
Vos jubet læta hæc removere curas
Turba, lætari feriæque suadent.
Vivite læti.

En Ceres lætæ segetis creatrix,
Et pater vini placidique somni
Pocula hæc vobis hilares ministrant
Sume { monarcha. / magister. }

Bibunt omnes ordine dum, actores hæc ultima carmina sæpius repetunt; mox singuli toti conventui sic ordine gratulantur.

Tenor. Reddere fælicem si quemquam copia possit
Copia fælicis nomen habere jubet.
Copia læte jubet tristes depellere curas,
Copia quam cingit Bacchus et alma Ceres.

Counter Quem non delectant moderatè pocula sumpta?
Tenor. Cujus non animum dulcia vina juvant?

Dulcia vina juvant, dulcem dant vina soporem,
Magnificas ornant dulcia vina dapes.

Meane. Frugibus alma Ceres mortalia pectora nutrit,
Exornant campum frugibus alma Ceres.
Si cuiquam desint Cerelia dona, nec illi
Lenæi patris munera grata placent.

Nec vobis Cereris nec Bacchi munera desint,
Annuat et votis Jupiter ipse meis.

Treble. Alma Ceres vestris epulis lætatur, et ecce
Copia cum Baccho gaudia læta canunt
Mox omnes cantantes Exeunt.

Gaudium lætum canimus, canemus
Hoc idem semper, nec enim dolere
Jam licet, lætæ feriæ hic aguntur
Vivite læti.

Sæpius nobis feriæ revertant,
Sæpius vinum liceat potare,
Sæpius vobis hilares canamus
Vivite læti.

This then was suddenly and extempore clapt together for want of a better, but notwithstanding was as willingly and chearefully receaved as it was proferd.

By this time it was foure a clocke and liberty was given to every one to goe to bed or stay up as long as they pleased. The Prince with his councell brake up their watch, so did most of the Maisters of the hovse, but the younger sort stay'd up till prayers time, and durst not goe to bed for feare of one another. For some, after they had licence to depart, were fetcht out of their beds by their fellowes, and not suffered to put on their clothes till they came into the hall. And thus the day came, & made an end of this night's sport.

On the sixt of february beeing egge satterday, it pleased some gentlemen schollers in the towne to make a dauncing night of it. They had provided many new and curious daunces for the maske of Penelope's woers, but the yeare beeing far spent and Lent drawing on and many other thinges to bee performed, the prince was not able to bestow that state upon them which their love & skill deserved. But their good will was very kindely receiued by the prince in this night's private travels. They had some apparell suddenly provided for them and these few Latin verses for their induction

Isti fuere credo Penelopes proci
Quos justa forsan ira Telemachi domo
Expulit Vlyssis.

After all this sport was ended the prince entertayned them very royally with good store of wine and a banquet where they were very merry and well pleased all that night.

Against the next Tuesday following beeing shrouetuesday the great stage was againe set up and the scaffolds built about the hall for the princes resignation, which was performed that night with great state and solemnity in manner and forme following :

IRA SEU TVMVLVS FORTVNÆ.

INTERLOCUTORES.

PRINCEPS.
ADMIRALIUS.
THESAURARIUS.
COMPTROLLARIUS.
CANCELLARIUS.
JUSTITIARIUS.
MARESCALLUS.
CAMERARIUS.

PHILOSOPHUS.
CYNICUS.
MOMUS.
POLYCRATES.
PHILADELPHUS.

JURIDICUS.
MAGISTER LUDORUM.
ANTEAMBULO PRIMUS.
ANTEAMBULO SECUNDUS.
STULTUS.

CHORUS.

MINERUA.
EUPHEMIA.

FORTUNA.
TOLMÆA.

* * * * * * *

Many straungers of all sorts were invited to this shew, and many more came together, for the name's sake only of a resignacon, to see the manner and solemnity of it, for y^{t} it was reported (and truly) that there was nothing els to bee done or seene beside the resignacon and no man thought so much could haue beene said of so little matter.

The stage was never so oppressed wth company, insomuch that it was verely thought itt could not bee ꝑformed that night for want of roome; but the audience was so favourable as to stand as close and yeeld as much backe as was possible; so that for all tumults it began about 7 a clocke, and was very well liked of all.

Only some few, more vpon their owne guilty suspicon than our plaine intention, thinking themselves toucht at that verse of *Momus*

Dixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi,

laboured to raise an hissing, but it was soone smothered, and the whole company in the end gave vs good applause and deꝑted very well pleased.

After the shew was ended, the sometimes Lord was carried in state to his owne private chamber after this manner:

Ffirst went two Squires wth lights.
Next Euphemia and Tolmæa.
Then 2 other Squires wth lightes.
Next Minerva and Fortuna.
Then came 4 other Squires with lightes and in the midst of them 4 Schollers bearing on their shoulders a tombe or sepulcher adorned with scutchions and little flagges, wherein all the Princes honours had bene buried before.
After this came the Prince alone, in his Schollers gowne and hood as the cheife mourner.
Then all the rest of his counsell and company likewise in blacke gownes and hoodes, like mourners, two by two.

All these were said to goe to the Temple of Minerva there to consecrate and erecte the sepulcher, and this state was very well liked of all that saw itt.

Heere wee thought to have made an end of all, and to have puld downe the scaffolds and stage, but then many said that so much preparacon was to much for so small a show. Besides there was an English Tragedy almost ready, which they were very earnest should bee ꝑformed, but, many arguments were alledged against it: ffirst, for the time, because itt was neere Lent, and consequently a season vnfitt for plaies—Secondly, the stile for that itt was English, a language vnfitt for the vniversitie, especially to end so much late sporte wth all—Thirdly, the suspicon of some did more hinder it then all the rest, for y^{t} it was thought that some ꝑticulers were aimed att in the Chorus, which must needes bee distastfull—Lastly, the ill lucke, w^{ch} wee had before wth English, made many very loth to have any thing done againe in that straine.

But these objections being aunswered all well as might bee, and faithfull ꝓmise being made and taken y^{t} if any word were thought ꝑsonall, it should bee presently put out, the stage was suffered to stand, and the scaffolds somewhat enlarged against the Saturday following. Att which time such a concourse of people from all places, and of all sorts came together presently after dinner, that itt was thought impossible any thing should have beene done that night for tumults. Yet in the beginning such order and care was taken (every one being willing att the last cast to helpe towardes the making a good end,) that the stage was kept voide of all company, and the scaffoldes were reserved for straungers and men sorte, better then ever they were before, so that it began very peaceably somewhat before six a clocke, and was ꝑformed in manner following:

PERIANDER.

CHORVS.

THE M^{R} OF THE REVELS. DETRACTION.
THE M^{R} OF THE REVELS BOY. RESOLUTION.
INGENUITY A DOCTOR OF PHYSICKE.

INTERLOCVTORES.

PERIANDER, TYRANNUS CORINTHI.
CYPSILUS, HÆRES PERIANDRI, STULTUS.
LYCOPHRON FRATER CYPSILI.
NEOTINOS, PUER, SATELLES LYCOPH.
LYSIMACHOS }
ARISTHÆUS } NOBILES ET A CONSILIJS PERIANDRI

PHILARCHES
ERITERUS } JUUENES NOBILES IN AULÂ PERIANDRI.
SYMPHILUS

CRATÆA MATER PERIANDRI.
MELISSA UXOR PERIANDRI.
MELISSÆ UMBRA.
EUGENIA FILIA PERIANDRI.
PORNÆA } DUÆ MERITRICULÆ PERIANDRI.
ZONA
LARISSÆA SOROR PHILARCHIS.
EUROPE ARISTHÆI FILIA.
FÆMINÆ QUATUOR CORINTHIÆ CUM 4or PUERIS INSERUIENTIBUS.

ARION CELEBRIS MUSICUS.
NAUTÆ QUATUOR.
CIUES DUO TOGATI.
VIGILES DUO.
CALISTUS
STRATOCLES } SATELLITES PERIANDRI.
BORIUS
TRES AUT 4or ALIJ SATELLITES.
EPILOGUS.

* * * * * * * * * * *

EPILOGUE.

Gentlemen, welcome! our great promises
Wee would make vpp, your selues must needs confesse,
But our small timbred actors, narrowe roome,
Necessity of thrifte make all short come
Of our first apprehensions; wee must keepe
Our auntient customes thoughe wee after creepe.
But wee forgett times limitts, Nowe tis Lente—
Old store this weeke may lawfully be spente

Our former shewes were giu'n to our cal'd Lorde,
This, and att his request, for you was storde.
By many hands was Periander slaine,
Your gentler hands will giue him liue againe.

FINIS.

A certain gentlewoman, vpon the hearing of these two last verses, made two other verses, and in way of an aunswer sent them to the Prince, who having first plaied Periander afterwards himselfe also pronounced the Epilogue.

The verses were these

If that my hand or hart him life could give,
By hand and hart should Periander live.

But it is almost incredible to thincke how well this Tragedy was ꝑformed of all ꝑties, and how well liked of the whole, which (as many of them as were within the hall) were very quiet and attentive. But those that were without and could not get in made such an hideous noice, and raised such a tumult w^th^ breaking of windows all about the colledge throwinge of stones into the hall and such like ryott, that the officers of the coll: (beeing first dar'd to appeare) were faine to rush forth in the beginning of the play, w^th^ abovt a dozen whiflers well armed and swords drawne, whereat the whole company (which were gathered together before the chapell doore to try whether they could breake it open) seeing them come behind them out of the lodging, presently gave backe, and ranne away though itt was thought they were not so few as 4 or 500.

The officers gave some faire words and some fowle as they saw occasion, the whiflers were very heedfull to marke who were the ringleaders of the rest, and having some notice giuen of them by some of o^r^ freindes, they tooke some of them and committed them to the Porters lodge, where they lay close prisoners till the play was done, and then they were brought forth and punished, and so sente home.

After this all was quiet only some were so thrust in the hall, that they were caried forth for dead but soone recouered, when they came into the aire.

The Chorus of this Tragedy much pleased for the rarity of it. *Detraction* beeing taken from among the company, where hee had like to have bene beaten for his sawsines (as it was supposed) for nobody at first toke him for an actor. The cheifest in the hall commaunded that notice should be taken of him, that hee might afterwards bee punished for his boldnes;—but as soone as it once appeared that hee was an actor, their disdaine and anger turned to much pleasure and content.

All were so pleased att the whole course of this play, that there were at least eight generall plaudites given in the midst of it in divers places and to divers ꝑsons.

In the end, they clapped their hands so long, y^{t} they went forth of the colledge clapping.

But in the midst of all this good liking wee were neere two mischaunces, the one from Lycophron who lost a faire gold ring from his finger, which notwthstanding all the hurleburly in the end of the play, was soone found againe; the other from Periander, who, going to kill his daughter Eugenia, did not so couch his dagger wthin his hand, but that hee prickt her through all her attire, but (as God would have it) it was onely a scratch and so it passed.

THE CONCLUSION.

Many other thinges were in this yeare entended which neither were nor could be ꝑformed. As the maske of Penelope's Wooer, wth the State of Telemachus, wth a Controversie of Jrus and his ragged Company, whereof a great ꝑte was made. The devise of the Embassage from Lubber-land, whereof also a ꝑte was made. The Creation of White Knights of the order of Aristotle's Well, which should bee sworne to defend Aristotle against all authors, water against wine, footemen against horsemen, and many more such like injunctions. A lottery for those of the colledge or straungers as itt pleased them to draw, not for matters of wealth, but only of mirth and witt. The triumph of all the ffounders of the colledges in Oxford, a devise much thought on, but it required more invention, more cost then the time would affoord. The holding of a court leet and baron for y^{e} Prince wherein there should have beene leasses drawne, copies taken, surrenders made, all which were not so much neglected as prevented by the shortenes of time and want of mony, better wits and richer daies may hereafter make vpp w^{ch} was then lefte vnꝑfect.

Here some letters might bee inserted, and other gratulatory messages from divers freindes to the Prince, but it is high time to make an end of this tædious and fruitelesse relation, vnlesse the knowledge of trouble and vanity bee fruitefull.

Wee intended in these exercises the practise and audacity of our youth, the creditt and good name of our Colledge, the love and favor of the vniuersity; but instead of all these (so easie a thing it is to be deceived in a good meaning) wee met with peevishnesse at home, peruersnes abroad, contradictions every where; some neuer thought themselves entreated enough to their owne good and creditt; others thought themselves able to doe nothing if they could not thwarte and hinder some-thing; most stood by and gave aime, willing to see much and doe nothing, nay ꝑchaunce they were ready to procure most trouble, which would bee sure to yeild least helpe. And yet wee may not so much grudge at faults at home as wee may iustly complaine of hard measure abroad; for insteed of the love and favour of the vniuersitie, wee found o^{r} selves (wee will say justly) taxed for any the least errour (though ingenious spirits would have ꝑdoned many things, where all things were entended for their owne pleasure) but most vnjustly censured, and envied for that w^{ch} was done (wee dare say) indifferently well: so that, in a word, wee paid deere for trouble, and in a manner hired and sent for men to doe vs wrong.

Let others herafter take heed how they attempte the like, vnlesse they find better meanes at home, and better mindes abroad. And yet wee cannot complaine of all, some ment well and said well, and those tooke good will for good paiment, good endevors for good ꝑformaunce, and such (in this kind) shall deserve a private favour, when other shal bee denied a common benefitt.

Seria vix recte agnoscit, qui ludicra nescit.

PRO ARIS ET FOCIS.

FINIS.

T. Bensley and Son,
Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.

Old Meg of Herefordshire

FOR A

MAYD MARIAN

AND

Hereford Towne

FOR A

MORRIS DAUNCE

OR

TWELVE MORRIS DANCERS IN HEREFORDSHIRE
OF TWELVE HUNDRED YEARS OLD.

Grata Senectus homini parilis Juventæ.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JOHN BUDGE, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT HIS
SHOP, AT THE GREAT SOUTH DOORE OF PAULES.
1609.

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TO THAT RENOWNED OX-LEACH,

Old Hall,

TABORER OF HEREFORDSHIRE,
AND TO HIS MOST INVINCIBLE WEATHER BEATEN

Nutbrowne Taber,

BEING ALREADIE OLD AND SOUND, THREESCORE YEARES
AND UPWARD.

TO thee (old *Hall*,) that for thy Age and Art mightest haue cured an Oxe that was eaten at Saint *Quintins*, that for thy warlike Musicke mightest haue strucke up at *Bullen*, when great Drummes wore broken heades, thy little continuall Taber, had beene enough to haue put spirit into all the Souldiers: Now Tweire-pipe that famous Southren Taberer with the Cowleyan windpipe, who for whuling hath beene famous through the Globe of the world, did neuer gaine such renowne and credite by his Pipe and Taber, as thou (old *Hall*) by striking up to these twelue hundred yeares Moris-dauncers: Nor art thou alone (sweet *Hall*) a most exquisite Taber-man, but an excellent Oxe-leach, and canst pleasure thy neighbours. The people of *Hereford-shire* are beholding to thee, thou giuest the men light hearts by thy Pype, and the women light heeles by thy Taber: O wonderful Pyper, O admirable Taber-man, make use of thy worth, euen after death, that art so famously worthy in thy life, both for thy age, skill, and thy vnbruized Taber, who these threescore yeares has kept her maydenhead sound and vncrackt, and neither lost her first voyce, or her fashion: once for the Countryes pleasure imitate that *Bohemian Zisca*, who at his death gaue his Souldiers a strict command, to flea his skin off, and couer a Drum with it, that alive and dead, he might sound like a terror in the eares of his enemies: so thou sweete *Hereford Hall*, bequeath in thy last will, thy Velom-spotted skin, to couer Tabors: at the sound of which, to set all the shires a dauncing.

Old Meg of Herefordshire for a Mayd-Marian,

AND

Hereford-Towne for a Morris Daunce.

THE courts of kings for stately measures: the Citie for light heeles, and nimble footing: the country for shufling dances: Westerne-men for gambouls: Middlesex-men for tricks aboue ground: Essex-men for the Hey: Lancashire for Horne-pypes: Worcestershire for Bag-pypes: but Hereford-shire for a morris-daunce, puts downe, not onely all *Kent*, but verie neare (if one had line enough to measure it) three quarters of Christendome. Neuer had Saint *Sepulchres* a truer ring of Bels: neuer did any Silke-weauer keepe brauer time with the knocke of the heele: neuer had the dauncing horse a better tread of the toe: neuer could Beuerley Faire giue money to a more sound Taborer, nor euer had *Robin Hood* a more deft *Mayd-Marian*.

If your eares itch after this old (but yet no stale) wonder, let them itch no more, (for why should any mans ears itch longer then is reason) you shall haue them tickled presently with the neb of my pen. Understand therefore (if at least you haue so much spare wit left you, as to understand,) that in the merriest Moneth of the yeare, which last did take his leaue of vs, and in that Moneth, as some report, Lords went a Maying, the wombe of the spring being great with child of pleasure, brought forth (iust about that time) a number of Knights, Esquiers, and Gallants (of the best sort) from many partes of the land, to meete at a Horse-race neere *Hereford*, in *Hereford-shire*. The horses hauing (for that yeare) run themselves well-nigh out of breath, wagers of great summes (according to the fashion of such pastimes) being wonne and lost, and the sports growing to the end, and shutting vp, some wit (riper then the rest) fed the stomacks of all men (then and there present) with desire and expectation of a more fresh and liuely meeting in the same place, to be performed this yeare of 1609. Pleasure and paine had left such deepe print in euery bosome, that the match was no sooner begotten, but it was borne, time only being appointed (at the due expected houre) to bring it forth. The ceremonies which their meeting was to stand vpon, were these, that euery man shoulde engage himselfe (in his credite) vnder his hand, to bring (this present yeere) to the place appointed, running horses for the race, Cockes of the game, to maintaine battails, &c. with good store of money, to flie vp and downe betweene those that were to lay wagers. He that first gaue fire to this sotiable motion, was charged to stand to his tackling, and to come well prouided, who thervpon (whilest the mettle of his braines were hot and boyling) vndertooke to bring a Hobbie-horse to the race, that should out-runne all the Nags which were to come thither, and to hold out in a longer race, then any would be there.

The circle of time running round, and closing at his fulnesse, expectation did within fewe dayes make *Hereford* towne shew like the best peopled Cittie. Innes were lodgings for Lords: *Baucis* and *Philæmons* house (had it stood there) would haue beene taken vp for a Knight. The streetes swarmed with people, the people staring and ioyfully welcomming whole brauies of Gallants, who came brauely flocking on horsback, like so many lustie aduenturers. *Bath* made her waters to boile vp, and swell like a spring-tide, with the ouerflowing of her owne teares, which fell from her eies through griefe, to see her dearest guests leaue her for the loue of a horse-race at *Hereford*. And so much the greater were her sorrowes, by how much the more worthie the friendes were whom she lost: for the number of them being at least two or three hundred. Amongst many of the better rankes, these marched with the foremost.

Lord Herbert of Ragland
Sir Thomas Somerset
Charles Somerset
Count Arundels 2 sonnes
Sir Edward Swift
Sir Thomas Mildemay
Sir Robert Yaxley
Sir Ro. Carey
Sir Iohn Philpot
Sir Ed. Lewes
Sir Francis Lacon
Sir Iames Scudamore
Sir Thomas Cornwall
Sir Ro. Boderham
Sir Thomas Russell
Sir Bascaruile
Sir Thomas Conisby
Sir George Chute

These were but a small handfull to those rich heapes that there were gathered together. But by these (that had the honour to be the leaders) you may gesse what numbers were the followers.

The day being come, in which the running horses were to proue themselves arrant Jades, or to shewe the noblenesse of their breeding: As much looking there was, as much talking, and as much preparation, for the Hobbi-horse promised the last yeare, as about dieting the fairest Gelding this yeare, vpon whose head the heauiest wagers were layd.

The exercises of this *Olympian* race, required strength, speede, lustinesse of courage, and youthful blood, none but able and actiue bodies could climb ouer such labors. But to performe a race of greater length, of greater labor, and yet in shorter time, and by feeble vnexercised, and vnapt creatures, that would be an honour to him that vndertooke it, that would be to Hereford-shire a glorie, albeit it might seeme an impossibilitie.

What man would not wonder to see fire struck out of yce? to see dead Ashes kindled againe, and to yeelde fire? to see Saples trees in the depth of Winter laden with mellow Apples, and to see those Apples when they are pluckt and cut, to grow againe. This wonder was as great, the accomplishment of it as strange.

Age is no bodie (in trials of the bodie) when youth is in place, it giues the other the bucklers: it stands and giues aime, and is content to see youth Act, while Age sits but as a spectator, because the one does but studie and play ouer the parts, which the other hath discharged in this great and troublesome Theater. It was therefore now plotted to lay the Sceane in Age, to haue the old Comedie presented, Fathers to be the Actors, and beardlesse boyes the Spectators. *Sophocles* (because he was accused of imbecilitie and dotage, should rehearse his *Oedipus Coloneus*, while the Senate and his owne wild-brain sonnes stoode by, and were the audience: and to set out this Sceane with mirth, as well as with wonder, the state of the whole Act, was put into a *Morris-daunce*. To furnish which fully and rarely, a Bill of names able to impannell three or four Juries was giuen and read, but onely 18 were sworne, and had the charge deliuered to them: Those vpon whose heades the *Vous auez* was set, being these, that in the next ranke double their Fyles, viz.

The Morris, and all the officers attending vpon it.

THE running horses being too light of foote for vs to follow, be content I pray to stay with vs, and to march along with our Infanterie of *Hereford*, which thus brauely came on.

Squire of Hereford, a Musition, 108.

Two Musitions were appoynted (like the *drum-major*, and *drum-minor*, to strike vp, and to giue the alarum: the one of them was a Squire borne, and all his sons Squires in their cradles. The Instrument he tickled was a trebble Violin, vpon which he played any old lesson that could be called for: the diuision hee made on the strings, being more pleasing then the Diapason. In skill he outshines blind *Moone* of *London*, and hath out-played more fidlers then now sneake vp and downe into all the Tauerns there. They may all call him their father, or (if you reckon the yeares rightly which are scored vpon his head) the Musitions Grandsire, for this tuneable Squire is one hundred and eight yeares old.

Harrie Rudge the Taborer.

Next to *Arion* (and cheeke by ioule with him in estimation) went old *Orpheus*, (as a man might being deceiued, haue taken him) but that hee wanted *Orpheus* Lute. This was old *Hall* of *Hereford*, the Wayts of three Metropolitans Cities, make not more Musicke then he can with his Pipe and Tabor, if at least his head be hard-brac'd with nappie Ale. This noble old *Hall*, seeing that *Apollo* was both a Fidler, and a Quack-saluer, being able to cure diseases, as well as to harpe vpon one string, would needes be free of two companies as well, (that is to say) the sweete companie of Musitions, and that other which deales in salues and plaisters; for he both beates a Tabor with good iudgement, and (with better) can helpe an Oxe if he finde himselfe ill at ease.

The Wood of this olde *Hall's* Tabor should haue beene made a Paile to carrie water in, at the beginning of King *Edward* the sixts raigne: but *Hall* (being wise, because hee was euen then reasonably well strucken in yeares, saued it from going to the water, and conuerted it in those dayes to a Tabor. So that his Tabor hath made Batchelers and Lasses daunce round about the Maypoll, three-score Sommers one after another in order, and is yet not worme-eaten. And noble *Hall* himselfe, hath stoode (like an Oake) in all stormes, by the space of foure-score and seuenteene Winters, and is not yet falling to the ground.

Hall,
97 *yeares.*

The Marshales of the field, were foure: these had no great stomacke to daunce in the Morris, but tooke vpon them the office of Whiflers.

4 *Whiflers.*

1. The first of these was *Thomas Price* of *Clodacke*, a Subsidie man; and one, vpon whose cheekes age had written, one hundred and fiue yeares.

Tho. Price
of Clodacke,
105 *yeares.*

2. The second, was *Thomas Andros* of *Begger Weston*, a Subsidie man; for he carried vpon his backe, the weightie burden of one hundred and eight yeares, and went away with them lightly.

Tho. Andros
of Begger
Weston, 108.

3. The third, was *William Edwards* of *Bodenham*, (his name is in the Kings bookes likewise) and vnto him hath time also giuen the vse of one hundred and eight yeares: and besides the blessings of so many yeares, the comfort of a yong wife, and by that wife, is his age honored with a child, of sixe yeares olde.

W. Edwards
of Bodenham,
108.

4. The fourth, was *John Sanders* of *Walford*, an Ironworker; the hardnes of which labour could not so wearie and wast his bodie, but that his courage hath ouercome it, and carried him safely ouer the hie hill of old age, where she hath bestowed vpon him one hundred and two yeares.

John Sanders,
102 *yeares old.*

These foure Whiflers reckoning with their liues, and casting vp what all their daies which they had spent in the world could make, found that they amounted to foure hundred and three and twentie

423 *yeares.*

yeares; so that if the rest of their dauncing brother-hood, had come short of their account, and could not (euery man) make vp one hundred yeares, these offered and weare able to lend them three and twentie yeares, but the others had enough of their owne, and needed not to borrow of any man.

Doe you not long to see how the Morris-dancers bestir their legs (lift vp your eyes, leape vp behind their heads that stand before you, or else get vpon stalls,) for I heare their bells, and behold, here they come.

James Tomkins, 106 *yeeres old.*

Of twelve in the whole Teeme, the foreman was *James Tomkins* of *Lengerren*, a gentleman by birth; neither loued of fortune, nor hated of her, for he was neuer so poore as to be pittied, nor euer so rich as to be enuied: when he had bin a dweller in the world fourescore and eighteene yeares, he married a wife, of two and fiftie yeares old; shee brought him a child thats now eight yeares old (liuing,) the Father himselfe hauing now the glasse of his life running to fill vp, the full number of one hundred and six yeares.

John Willis 97 *yeeres old.*

After him comes lustily dauncing, *John Willis* of *Dormington*, a bone-setter: he had gotten such skill by placing other mens bones in order, when they were strucke out of ioynt, that he would neuer suffer his owne to be displaced, and by that meanes was so lustie at legges now, that albeit he carried about him the full weight of one hundred yeares, yet he was not seene to lye behind his fellowes, but went foote by foote with the foremost. His dauncing was fit to his yeares, and his purpose in being one of the Morris, was both honest and charitable, for he bestowed his person vpon them, with intent to be readie at hand if any dislocation should be wrought vpon any ioynt in his old companions by fetching loftie trickes, which by all meanes possible they were sworne to auoide.

Dick Phillips of Middleton, 102.

Roome for little *Dick Phillips* of *Middleton*; how nimbly he shakes his heeles, wel dancd old heart of oake, and yet as little as he seemes, his courage is as big as the Hobbie-horses, for the fruits of his youth, (gathered long agon,) are not yet withered. His eldest Sonne is at this present, foure score yeares of age, and his second Sonne, may now reckon three score: at our Lady-day last, he made vp the yeares of his life, iust one hundred and two.

Now falls into his right place *William Waiton* of *Marden*, with a hundred and two yeares at his heeles, and that you may know he neuer swore in his life, he was an old fisher, and of a cleane man an excellent Fowler, the first yeare of King *Henrie* the eight. *Wi. Waiton of Marden,* 102.

Here slips in *William Mosse*, who contrarie to his name, had no Mosse at his heeles; little can he say of himselfe, and I as little of him, but that he beares the age of a hundred and sixe. *Wil. Mosse,* 106.

Now cast your eyes vpon *Thomas Winney* of *Holmer*, an honest Subsidie man, dwelling close by the towne, he dances with a hundred yeares about him, wheresoeuer he goes, if the Church yard and crampe take him not before Midsommer. *Tho.Winney of Holmer,* 100.

But how like you *John Lace* of *Madley*, a Taylor, and an excellent name for it. In his youth he was a hosier, and a special good codpiece maker, being borne before the discension betweene cloath breeches and veluet breeches, he carries foure score and seuenteene sommers about him, and faine would borrow three yeares of *Iames Tomkins* to make him a hundred; and *Iames* may very well spare them, and yet leaue three toward the interest. *John Lace of Madley,* 97 *yeares old.*

But what say you to *John Careless?* you let him passe by you, and seeme as carelesse as he, a man of fourescore and sixteene at Midsommer next, he hath beene a dweller in *Homlacie*, threescore yeares and two, and knowne to be a tall man, till now he begins to be crooked, but for a bodie and a beard, he becomes any Morris in Christendome. *John Carelesse* 96 *yeares.*

At the heeles of him follows his fellow *William Maio* of *Egelton*, an old Souldier, and now a lustie laborer and a tall man, fortie yeares since being grieuously wounded, he carried his liuer and his lights home halfe a mile, and you may still put your finger into them, but for a thin skin ouer them; and for all these stormes he arriues at fourescore and seuenteene, and daunces merrily. *Wil. Maio,* 97.

But looke you who here comes: *John Hunt* the Hobby-horse, wanting but three of an hundred, twere time for him to forget himselfe, and sing but O, nothing but O, the Hobbie-horse is forgotten; the Maide-marrian following him, offers to lend him seuen yeares more, but if he would take vp ten in the hundred, his company are able to lend them. *John Hunt,* 97.

Meg Goodwin of Erdestand, 120.

But now giue way for the Maide-marrian, old *Meg Goodwin*, the famous wench of *Erdistand*, of whom Maister *Weauer* of *Burton*, that was fourescore and ten yeares old, was wont to say, she was twentie yeares elder then he, and he dyed ten yeares since. This old *Meg* was at Prince *Arthur's* death, at *Ludlow*, and had her part in the dole; she was threescore yeares (she saith) a Maide, and twentie yeares otherwise, thats what you will, and since hath beene thought fit to be a Maide-marrian.

John Mando, 100 *yeares old.*

Welcome *John Mando*, he was borne at *Cradly*, a very good two hand sword man, of the age of an hundred, at blacke Monday last, and serues in place of *Morgan Deede*, who climes to that age within foure yeares, here present dwelling in the towne, but he has a great desire to keepe his bed, and be spared.

1837 *yeares*

So here are eighteene persons, that carrie in all places about them eighteen hundred, and thirtie seuen yeares.

Belike it was a grand-iurie to make vp this Morris-daunce, for more were called, as two men out of *Estnor*, of two hundred nine yeares of age; foure out of *Marcle*, of foure hundred fiue yeares.

And for a good wager, it were easie to finde in that countie foure hundred persons more, within three years ouer or vnder an hunder yeares; yet the shire is no way foure and twentie miles ouer.

But will you know what fashion was obserued amongst the Musitians, and what habit the dauncers tooke vpon them, here take a view of both. The Musitians and the twelue dauncers, had long coates of the old fashion, hie sleeues gathered at the elbowes, and hanging sleeues behind: the stuffe, red Buffin, stript with white, Girdles with white, stockings white, and redde Roses to their shooes: the one sixe, a white Jewes cap with a Jewell, and a long red Feather: the other, a scarlet Jewes cap, with a Jewell and a white Feather: So the Hobbi-horse, and so the Maide-Marrion was attired in colours: the Wiflers had long staues, white and red. And after the daunce was ended, diuerse Courtiers that won wagers at the race, tooke those colours, and wore them in their hats.

The Speech spoken before the Morris.

Ye seruants of our mightie king,
That came from court one hundred mile
To see our race, and sport this spring:
Ye are welcome, that is our Country stile,
And much good doe you, we are sorie;
That *Hereford* hath no better for yee.
    A Horse, a Cocke, Trainsents, a Bull,
Primero, Gleeke, Hazard, Mumchance:
These sports through time are growne so dull,
As good to see a Morris dance.
Which sport was promised in iest,
But payd as truly as the rest.
A race (quoth you) behold a race,
No race of horses but of men,
Men borne not ten miles from this place,
Whose courses outrun hundreds ten.
A thousand yeares on ten mens backs,
And one supplies what other lacks.

THE LENUOY.

This is the Lenuoy (you may gather
Gentlemen, Yeomen, Groomes, and Pages,
Lets pray, Prince *Henrie*, and his father,
May outlive all these ten mens ages.
And he that mocks this application,
Is but a knaue past reformation.

This speech spoken, old *Hall* strucke vp, and the Morris-dauncers fell to footing, whilest the Whiflers in their office, made roome for the Hobby-horse.

And howe doe you like this Morris-daunce of *Hereford-shire?* Are they not braue olde youths? Haue they not the right footing? the true tread? comely lifeting vp of one legge, and actiue bestowing of the other? *Kemps* Morris to *Norwich*, was no more to this, then a Gaillard on a common stage, at the end of an old dead Comedie, is to a *Caranto* daunced on the Ropes.

Nestor makes a bragging in *Homer*, (a kind of blind Poet, that could not see when he did well) of his owne praises, and especially keepes a prating of his Age. But I would faine read if euer a *Homer* of them all, if *Nestor* at that age (whatsoeuer it was) was able to haue made one in such a Morris-daunce.

Nay, how many Tailors that skipping from their Shoppe-boords on Saterday nights, lay waite onelie for weddings on the Sunday following, wasting their Capers many times on filthie rotten Mutton, and dauncing out their working day-gettings on Holi-day spendings, how many of these, I say, would be able to set vp a Morris at those yeares, which *Hereford* here doth reckon? The great Grandfathers, Fathers, of three-score such nimble footed Linnen-Armourers will neuer be able to put into the Needle of life, a Threed so long, so strong, and so round: no, they eate away their dayes too fast, and drinke vp their nights in surfeits: hee that can draw out the wire of his age (in these licentious cockny-endes of the worlde,) to fortie yeares, is an olde man, and giues vp his cloake for riding on a Hobby-horse, or for playing any youthfull tricks besides.

A Taylor at fortie yeares, is glad to trust to his yard, and walkes leaning vpon that. A Fencer at thirtie (by reason of his knocking) takes any foyle, to be a staffe to his age. A waterman at fiftie yeares, falles from water to drinking of Ale, onely to keepe life and soule together. A Vintner at threescore, has legges no bigger then a Crane, they are so wasted with running. But here is a doozen of yonkers, that haue hearts of Oake at fourescore yeares: backes of steele at fourescore and ten, ribbes of yron at a hundred, bodies sound as Belles, and healthfull (according to the Russian proverb) as an Oxe when they are trauelling downe the hill, to make that one hundred and twentie.

These, shewed in their dauncing, and moouing vp and downe, as if *Mawlborne* hilles, in the verie depth of Winter, when all their heades are couered (in steade of white woollie cappes) with snow, had shooke and daunced at some earth-quake.

Shall any man, lay blame on these good old Fathers, because at such yeares they had not spent all their wild-oates? No, we commend (as *Tully* saith) a young man, that smells somewhat of the old signior, and can but counterfeit grauitie in his cheekes; and shall we not heaue up with praises an old man, that at one hundred and eight yeares end, can rake his dead embers abroad, and shew some coales of the lustie *Iuuentus* glowing in him euen then? Suche an olde Mad cappe deserues better to bee the stuffing of a Cronicle, then *Charing Crosse* does for loosing his rotten head, which (through age being wind-shaken) fell off, and was trod vpon in contempt. Were old *Stowe* aliue, here were Tabring work enough for his pen: but howsoeuer, so memorable a monument of man, shall not wither in obliuion, if the sweete *Aprill* shewers which drop from the *Muses* water, can make it grow vp and flourish.

A dishonour were it to Poets and all Pen-men, if acts of this worth should not Encomiastically be celebrated and recorded. For heereby the Vertuous are heartned: if you will not believe me, I will prooue it by strong reasons. Whoremongers, drunkards, and such like fellowes, (who are euery hower wrastling with Vices and Villaines, which are harder to be tripped downe then the Guard) that in their youthfull dayes spend more at a Tauerne reckoning, or in a Vaulting-schoole, in one houre, then their Great Grandfathers did (among all their neighbours) in a whole Christmas. These (I say) drew out a short, a blacke, a rotten, and gowtie threed of old age. But it is therefore an argument, that these white-bearded youths of *Hereford-shire* were neuer given to wine or to wenches, both which are sharper then the destinies Sheeres, to cut in sunder the very bottome of the soundest life.

Old age is to all men for the most part a disease; It is to some the cough; they do nothing but spit; to some, the Palsey: If these were rotten, they would shake themselues to peeces: to others, it is the Gowte, they haue not a good legge to throw at a Dogge, and were ill to be cowardly souldiers, because they could not runne, vnles the running Gowte set them forward: But old age in *Hereford-shire*, neither spits nor spawles, feeles no aches, nor oes in his bones.

Oh! if all the people in the kingdome, should haue their dayes stretched out to the length of three mens, Clearks and Sextons might go hang themselves in the belropes: they would haue colde doings: prodigal heires might beg, they should hardly find an Almanacke that would tell them when their lands should come to their hands by the death of their Fathers, for they themselues would haue white Beardes, before they could arriue at their full age. It were no hoping after dead mens shooes, for both vpper-leather and soles would bee worne out to nothing.

As great pittie it were (O old *Margaret*, or rather new *Mayd-Marion*) that all mens wiues (especially those that like Dutch-watches have larums in their mouths) should last so long as thou hast done: howe would the world be plagued? Loue would die: the generation of mankinde, would in a short time be dried vp, and shrunke away to nothing.

But a far more lamentable cause of sorow would it be, if Maydenheades should stand so long vpon Wenches shoulders, as yours (Mother *Marget*) hath done vpon your owne, because if they did so, they would bee seeded (like olde tough Turne-vps) and so not bee worth the cutting.

Alas! what doe I see? Hold Taborer, stand Hobby-horse, Morris-dancers, lend vs your hands, behold one of the nimble-legd old gallants, is by chance falne downe, and is either so heauy, so weary, so vnactive of himselfe, or else fiue of his fellowes are of such little strength, that all their Armes are put under him (as Leauers) to lift him vp, yet the good olde boyes cannot set him on his feete. Let him not lie for shame, you that have (all this while) seene him daunce, and though hee bee a little out of his part, in the verie last Act of all, yet hisse at nothing, but rather (because it is beg'd for God's sake.)

Summi Iouis *causa plaudite.*

FINIS.

THE COLD YEARE,

1614.

A Deepe Snow:

IN WHICH

MEN AND CATTELL HAUE PERISHED,

TO THE

GENERALL LOSSE OF FARMERS, GRASIERS, HUSBANDMEN,
AND ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRIE; AND
NO LESSE HURTFULL TO CITIZENS.

* * *

WRITTEN DIALOGUE-WISE, IN A PLAINE FAMILIAR TALKE
BETWEENE A LONDON SHOPKEEPER, AND A NORTH-
COUNTRY-MAN.

In which, the Reader shall find many thinges for his profit.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON FOR THOMAS LANGLEY IN IUIE
LANE, WHERE THEY ARE TO BE SOLD.
1615.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Although it was not the intention of the Editor of this miscellany, to have admitted any thing possessed of a mere temporary or local interest in the collection, yet the following Tract having met his eye at a moment when the record of such a continued severity of weather became particularly interesting, he was induced to give it a perusal; and as it afforded him much amusement, he presumed, (perhaps too hastily) that it might at this most extraordinary season be not unacceptable to the reader, its brevity and its rarity were also taken into the account, and decided its reimpression.

Stowe refers to the severity of the winter of 1613-14, in his Annals, thus "The 17th of January 1614, began a great Frost, with extreame Snow, which continued untill the 14th of February, and albeit the violence of the Frost and Snow some dayes abated, yet it continued freezing and snowing much or little untill the 7th of March."

Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes Edit. 1631, p. 1023.

Of this Tract, there appears to have been two editions in the same year, both printed for Thomas Langley. In the valuable library of George Hibbert, Esq. is a copy of the first, with which the present has been collated.

The Editor has much pleasure in announcing that the reception which the first number of the *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana* has experienced, and the approbation of his plan by a numerous list of the lovers of our early literature, encourage him to proceed; the utmost exertion will be made to render the succeeding numbers of equal interest.

THE GREAT SNOW.

A DIALOGUE.

THE SPEAKERS:

A CITIZEN. A NORTH-COUNTRY-MAN.

North-Country-Man.

GOD saue you Sir: here's a Letter directs me to such a signe as that hanging ouer your doore; (and if I be not deceaued) this is the Shoppe: Is not your name Maister *N.B*?

Cittizen.

N. B. is my name (Father:) What is your businesse:

Nor. I have Letters to you out of the *North.*

Cit. From whom, I pray?

Nor. From one Maister *G. M.* of *Y.*

Cit. I know him very well; and if I may heare by you that he is in health, I shall thinke you a bringer of good and happie newes.

Nor. Good and happy newes doe I bring you then; (for thankes be to God) health and hee haue not parted this many a yeare.

Cit. Trust me, your tidings warmes my heart, as cold as the weather is.

Nor. A Cup of muld Sacke (I thinke) would doe you more good. But to put a better heate into you, I haue from your Friende and mine, brought you two Bagges full of comfort, each of them weighing a hundred pound of currant English money.

Money is more comfortable to a Cittizen, than burnt Wine.

Citt. Birlady Sir, the Sacke you spake of, would not goe downe halfe so merrily, as this newes: For Money was neuer so welcome to Londoners (especially tradesmen) as it is now.

Nor. Why: Is it as scanty heere, as with vs: I thought if the Siluer age had been any where, your Cittie had challenged it. Mee thinkes our Northerne Climate, should onely be without Siluer Mynes, because the Sunne (the soueraigne breeder of rich Mettals) is not so prodigall of his beames to vs. Why, I haue been told, that all the Angels of the Kingdome fly vp and downe *London:* Nay I haue heard, that one of our ruffling Gallants in these dayes, weares more Riches on his Backe, in Hatte, Garters, and Shooe-stringes, then would maintaine a good pretty Farme in our Country, and keepe a Plough-land for a whole yeare.

No such matter.

Oh braue doings.

Cit. Wee care not how braue our Gallants goe, so their names stand not in our Bookes: For when a Cittizen crosses a Gentleman, hee holdes it one of the chiefest Cheapeside-blessings.

I beleeue it.

Nor. I vnderstand you Sir: You care not what Cullours they weare, so you keepe them not in Blacke and White.

Citt. You measure vs rightly: for the keeping of some so, (that carry their heads full high) makes many a good Shop-keeper oftentimes to hide his Head. So that albeit you that dwell farre off, and know not what *London* meanes, thinke (as you say) that all the Angels of the Kingdome, fly vp and downe heere. We, whose Wares lie dead upon our hands for want of quicke Customers, see no such matter: but if any Angels doe fly, they haue either their winges broken and fly not farre; or else are caught like Partridges, a few in a Couie. Albeit Sir, I haue all this while helde talke with you, yet mine eye hath runne ouer these Letters, and acknowledge my selfe your debtor, in respect an Age so reuerend (as your head warrants you are) hath been the Messenger. But I hope Sir, some greater especiall businesse of your owne besides, drew you to so troublesome a Jorney.

Nor. Troth Sir, no extraordinarie businesse: The Countrimans hands are now held as well in his Pocket, as the Shopkeepers. That drew mee to *London,* which drawes you Cittizens out of your Houses; or to speake more truely, driues you rather into your Houses.

Cit. How meane you Sir, the Weather:

Nor. The very same. I haue been an old Brier, and stood many a Northerly Storme: the Windes haue often blowne bitterly in my Face, Frostes haue nipped my Blood, Ysickles (you see) hang at my Beard, and a hill of Snow couers my Head. I am the Sonne of Winter, and so like the Father, that as hee does, I loue to be seene in all places. I had as leife walke vp to the knees in Snow, as to tread vpon Turkie Carpets: And therefore my Jorney to see *London* once more ere I die, is as merry to mee, as if I were a Woman and went a Gossipping; For the Earth shewes now, as if shee lay inne, (All in White.)

An old man.

Earth lyes in, all in white.

Cit. Belike then you haue heard she hath been deliuered of some strange prodigious Birthes, that you come thus farre, to see her Child-bed?

Nor. I haue from my Childhood spent my best daies in trauell, and haue seene the wonders of other Countries, but am most in loue with this of mine owne.

Cit. Where, if any be borne neuer so well proportiond, within a day or two it growes to be a Monster.

Nor. You say true, and iumpe with me in that: For I haue but two Eares; yet these two Eares bring me home a thousand tales in lesse than seuen daies: Some I hearken to, some I shake my head at, some I smile at, some I thinke true, some I know false. But because this world is like our Millers in the Countrey, knauish and hard to be trusted; though mine eares be mine owne, and good, yet I had rather giue credit to mine Eyes, although they see but badly, yet I know they will not couzen me: these foure score yeares they haue not; and that is the reason I haue them my Guides now in this Journey, and shall be my witnesses (when I get home againe, and sitte (as I hope I shall, turning a Crabbe by the fire) of what wonders I haue seene.

Cit. In good sadnes Father, I am proud that such a heape of yeers (lying on your back) you stoope no lower for them: I come short of you by almost forty at the least, and mee thinks I am both more vnlusty, and (but for head and beard) looke as aged.

Nor. Oh Sir! riotts, riotts, surfets ouernights, and early potting it next morning, sticke white haires vpon Young-mens chinnes, when sparing dyets holds colour: Your cram'd Capons feed you fatte here in *London*; but our Beefe and Bacon feeds vs strong in the Countrey: Long sleepes and past-midnights-watchings, dry vp your blouds, and wither your cheekes: Wee goe to bedde with the Lambe, and rise with the Larke, which makes vs healthfull as the Spring. You are still sending to the Apothecaries, and still crying out, *Fetch Maister Doctor to me:* But our Apothecaries shoppe, is our Garden full of Pot-hearbes; and our Docter is a cloue of Garlicke: Besides, you fall to Wenching, and marry heere in *London,* when a Stranger may thinke you are all Girles in Breeches, (your chinnes are so smooth,) and like Cock-sparrows, are treading so soone as you creepe out of the shell, which makes your liues short as theirs is: But in our Countrey, wee hold it as dangerous to venture vpon a Wife, as into a Set-battle: It was 36. eare I was prest to that Seruice; and am now as lusty and sound at heart (I praise my God) as my yoake of Bullockes, that are the seruants to my Plough.

Surfets kill more then the Sword.

The Country life and Citty life compared.

Early Bridals, make early Burials.

Citt. Yet I wonder, that hauing no more Sande in the Glasse of your life, how you durst set foorth, and how you could come thus farre?

Nor. How I durst set foorth? If it were 88. againe, and all the *Spanish* Fire-workes at Sea, I would thrust this old battered Breast-plate into the thickest of them. Wee haue Trees in our Towne that beare Fruite in Winter; I am one of those Winter-plummes: And though I taste a little sower, yet I haue an Oake in my Belly, and shall not rotte yet (I hope) for all this blustering weather.

Citt. It were pittie you should yet be felled downe, you may stand (no doubt) and grow many a faire yeare.

Nor. Yes Sir, my growing must now be downeward, like an Eare of Corne when it is ripe. But I beseech you tell mee, are all those Newes currant, which wee heare in the Country:

Cit. What are they pray ?

Nor. Marry Sir, that your goodly Riuer of Thames, (I call it yours, because you are a Cittizen; and because it is the Nurse that giues you Milke and Hony) Is that (as tis reported) all frozen ouer againe, that Coaches run vpon it?

The Thames a Nurse to London.

Cit. No such matter.

Nor. When I heard it, I prayed God to helpe the Fishes; it would be a hard world with them, if their Houses were taken ouer their heads. Nay Sir, I heard it constantly affirmed, that all the youth of the Cittie, did muster vpon it in battaile Array, one halfe against the other: And by my troth, I would haue ambled on my bare ten-Toes a brace of hundred Miles, to haue seene such a triumph.

Citt. In sadnesse (I thinke) so would thousands besides your selfe: But neither hath the Riuer been this yeare (for all the vehement cold) so hard-hearted, as to haue such a glassy crusted floare; neither haue our Youth been vp in Armes in so dangerous a Fielde: Yet true it is, that the *Thames* began to play a few cold Christmas Gambols; and that very children (in good Array) great numbers, and with War-like furniture of Drummes, Cullours, Pikes, and Gunnes, (fit to their handling) haue sundry times mette Armie against Armie, in most of the Fieldes about the Cittie; to the great reioycing of their Parents, and numbers of beholders.

Children turned Souldiers.

Nor. In good sooth I am sory, I was not one of those standers by: I haue been brought vp as a Scholler my selfe; and when I was young, our Warres were wrangling disputations: but now it seemes, that Learning surfets, hauing too many Schollers; And that wee shall need Souldiers, when such young Cockrels addresse to a Battaile: It shewes like the *Epitome* of Warre; and it is a wonder for men to read it. Our Painters in former Ages haue not drawne such Pictures. But you cut mee off from what I was about else to know.

Citt. What is that, Father?

Nor. A Bird came flying into the *North,* and chattered, that Snow fell in such abundance within and round about the Cittie of *London*, that none without could enter; nor any within, passe foorth.

Citt. Fables, Fables: A man may by the shadow, haue some guesse how great the substance is: Your owne eye (vpon your now being in *London*) can witnesse that your *Northren* song went to a wrong tune.

Nor. And yet by your fauour, I thinke you haue not seene your Cittie so whited this fourtie yeares.

The great Snow 36. yeare agoe.

Cit. Indeede our Chronicles speake of one deepe Snow onely, memorable to our time: and that was about 34, or 36. yeares agoe.

Nor. Nay, not so much, but of your white Beares, Bulles, Lions, &c. we had the description as fully, as if with Snow-bals in our hands, your Prentises and wee silly Country clownes had been at their bayting. I remember when I traueld into *Russia*, I haue there seene white Beares, and white Foxes: But some credulous fooles would needes sweare vs downe, that your Cittie was full of such Monsters; and that they ran aliue in the Streets, and devowred people: But I see your Gyants, and tirrable heardes of Beastes, haue done your Cittie good seruice; for in stead of Grasse, they haue had cold Prouander, and helped to rid away the greater part of your Snow.

Monsters fashioned of the snow in our streets.

Citt. They haue indeede: And yet albeit an Arme from Heauen hath for seuerall yeares one after another, shaken Whips ouer our Land, sometimes scourging vs with strange Inundations of Flouds; then with mercilesse Fires, destroying whole Townes: then with intollerable and killing Frostes, nipping the Fruites of the earth: also for a long season, with scarcitie of Victuals, or in great plentie, sold exceedingly deare: And now last of all, with deepe and most dangerous Snowes. Yet (as all the former lashes, the prints being worne out, are forgotten; so of this, wee make but a May-game, fashioning ridiculous Monsters of that, which God in vengeance poures on our heades; when in doing so, wee mocke our owne selues, that are more monstrous and vgly in all the shapes of sinne.

Diuers warnings, but no amendment.

God strikes, & we laugh, as if he did but iest.

Nor. You melt (Sir) out of a heape of Snow, very profitable and holsome instructions.

A good distillation

Citt. To increase which, I pray good Father, tell me what of your selfe you know, or haue heard from others touching the effects of this wonderfull Snow, in those Countries Northward, through which you haue trauelled?

Nor. My Countrie affaires (sometimes vsing Grasing, sometimes following other profitable courses, as the seasons and aduantages of times lead me) haue made me or my Seruants, continual traders and trauellersinto all the North parts of *England:* And vpon mine owne knowledge I can assure you, that at other times, when Winter hath but shewen his ordinarie tyrannie, the Countries of *Cumberland, Northumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire,* and all those adioyning, haue been so hid in Snow, that a man would haue thought, there was no more possibly to be found in the world.

Citt. So then you must conclude, that the heapes of Snow in those former times, being this yeare doubled and trebled, the miserie that falles with it, must by consequence, be multiplyed.

Snowes in other parts of England.

Nor. Multiplyed! I haue met with some that haue come from the *Peake* in *Darbyshire,* others (since my comming to Towne) that haue been in *Nottingham, Cambridge-shire,* and the *Ile of Ely;* who verily beleeue (vpon the daily cryes of poore people, not onely there, but in many other Countries besides) that neuer any Calamitie did happen to them so full of terrour, and so sodainely to vndoe them, their Wiues and Children, as this Snow.

Citt. It is lamentable.

Nor. Mine eyes are witnesses (bad though they be) that some Countries which stand high, shew for all the world, like the *Alpyne* Hilles parting *France* and *Italie:* (I thanke God, in younger dayes I haue trauelled that way, and therefore know what I speake) for the heads of those Hilles are couerd with these white Winter-lockes in the hottest dayes of Sommer. And it is to be feared, that in some of our farre Countries, Sommer will haue made his progresse a good way into our Land, before the Earth will digest these cold Pellets off from her stomacke.

Citt. It is to be feared indeed: the more is the pitty.

Nor. Why I will tell you Sir, if you saw some places by which

I haue passed but within these three weeks, you would verily thinke, that *Freezland* were come ouer Sea, swimming on a cake of Ice, and that it was lodged in *England*. Nay, you would, if you dwelt as coldly and miserably, as some poore people of our owne Nation doe, you would almost sweare, that those partes of *England* lay vnder the *Frozen Zone*, and scarce remember there were a Sunne in Heauen, so seldome doe his fyres cast any heate vpon them.

Freezeland come from beyond Sea.

Citt. But I pray Sir, What are the greatest hurtes and miseries, that people with you (so farre from vs) complaine of? And what kind of world is it with you in the Countrie:

The world no changeling.

Nor. The world with vs of the Country runns vpon the old rotten wheeles; for all the Northren Cloth that is wouen in our Country, will scarce make a Gowne to keepe Charitie warme, shee goes so a-cold: Those that are Rich, had neuer more Money; and Couetousnesse had neuer lesse pittie. There was neuer in any Age, more Money stirring, (if Curmudgions would let it come foorth,) nor euer in any Age more stirre to get Money. Farmers now are slaues to racking prodigall Landlords; and those Landlords are more seruile slaues to their owne Riots and Luxurie. But these are the common Diseases of euery Kingdome, and therfore but common newes. But your desire Sir, is to know how wee, spend the dayes of our frosty and snowy-lock'd Age in the Countrie.

Money keepes her bed, and is not stirring.

Old diseases hardly cured.

Citt. That I would heare indeed, Father.

Nor. Beleeue me Sir, as wickedly (you must thinke) as you can heere in the Cittie: It goes as hard with vs, as it does with you, if not harder. The same cold hand of Winter is thrust into our bosomes, the same sharpe and bitter Ayre strikes woundes into our bodyes: the same Snowy flakes and flockes of Heauen fall on our Heades, and couer our Houses: the same Sunne shines vpon vs, but the same Sunne scarce heates vs so much as it does you. The poore Plough-mans children sit crying and blowing their Nayles as lamentably, as the Children and Seruants of your poore Artificers: Hunger pincheth their Cheekes as deepe into the Flesh, as it doth into yours heere. You cry out, you are vndone by the extreame prices of Foode and Fuell; and wee

The poore Countryman's misery.

His wife and children.

complaine wee are ready to die for want both of Victualles and Wood. All your care is to prouide for your Wiues, Children, and Seruants, in this time of sadnesse: but Wee goe beyonde you in cares; not onely our Wiues, our Children, and household Seruants, are vnto vs a cause of sorrow, but wee grieue as much to beholde the miserie of our poore Cattell (in this frozen-hearted season) as it doth to looke vpon our owne Affliction. Our Beastes are our faythfull Seruants, and doe their labours truely when wee set them to it: they are our Nurses that giue vs Milke; they are our Guides in our Journies; they are our partners, and helpe to inrich our State; yea, they are the very Upholders of a poore Farmers Lands and Liuings.

The countrymans care, aboue the Citizen.

Kine.

Alas then! what Maister (that loues his Seruant as hee ought) but would almost breake his owne heart-stringes with sighing, to see those pine and mourne, as they doe. Nay, to see Flockes of Sheepe lustie and liuely to day, and to morrow, lying in heapes strangled in the Snow.

Sheepe.

The Ground is bare, and not worth a poore handfull of Grasse. the Earth seemes barren, and beares nothing; or if shee doth, most vnnaturally shee killes it presently, or suffers it (through cold) to perish. By which meanes, the lustie Horse abates his flesh, and hanges the head, feeling his strength goe from him: the Oxe standes bellowing, the ragged Sheepe bleating, the poore Lambe shiuering and staruing to death.

Horses, Oxen, Lambes.

The poore Cottager that hath but a Cow to liue vpon, must feed vpon hungry meales (God knowes) when the Beast her selfe hath but a bare Commons; nay, in searching to fill her belly with those hungry Meales, is perhaps on a sodaine, drowned in a ditch.

Hee that is not able to bid all his cattle home, and to feast them with Fodder out of his Barnes, shall scarce haue Cattell at the end of Sommer to fetch in his Haruest: which charge of feeding so many Mouthes, is able to eate a Country mans estate, if by prouidence hee cannot preuent such stormes. Adde vnto these Mischiefes, these following Miseries, that Hay (to feed Cattell) is not onely excessiue deare, but so scant, that none almost is to be had: the like of Straw, which is raysed to an ex-

Hay sold at extreame rates.

ceeding price: Then the spoyling of whole Warrens, the rotting of our Pastures and Meddowes: And last of all, the vndooing of poore Carriers, they being not able, (by reason of deepe Waters, deepe Snowes, and dangerous Wayes) either to transport commodities and benefites from vs to your Cittie, or from your Cittie to vs. And thus haue I to satisfie your desire, giuen you in a few wordes a description of an ample, and our lamentable countrie Miserie, happening vnto vs, by reason of this cold and vncomfortable Weather.

Carriers vndone.

Citt. The Story you haue told (albeit, it yet makes my heart bleed, to thinke vpon the calamity of my poore Countreymen;) was vttered with so graue a iudgement, and in a time so well befitting your age, that I kept mine eares open, and my lippes lockt vppe, for I was loath to interrupt you till all was told. But I pray Sir, besides these generall hurtes (of which, the whole Kingdome hath a smarting share,) what particuler accidents can you report, worthy to be remembred for the strangenesse of them:

Nor. There is no mischeefe borne alone (you know:) Calamities commonly are (by birth) Twinnes; I will therefore (like one of your *London* Traders) giue ouer selling these sadde and bad Commodities in grosse and whole-saile, and fall to put them away by retaile.

Citt. As I haue been your Customer for the one, so I will pay you ready thankes (as my best payment) for the other.

Nor. I wish no better; neyther doe I promise to put these Wares into your hands for the best that are, but in such sort as they came to me; so I hope you will receiue them.

Citt. Gladly.

Nor. Because then you are a Cittizen your selfe, I will tell you what was truely reported to mee of a mischaunce happening to a couple of *Londoners* now since Christmas.

Citt. I hearken to you Sir.

A Tale of two Londoners, ryding into the North.

Nor. They two hauing great occasion to ride into the *North,* it fortuned that in passing ouer a great Heath or Commons, on either side of which, were Woods; and beeing not aboue two Miles (to their thinking) from the next towne; yet night approching, and the Snow (which then coldly and thickly fell) being by the winde so sharply driuen, and beating in their faces, that they could not looke vp to obserue the way; they were thereby forced to muffle themselues in their Cloakes ouer head and eares, and to trust to the poore Beastes vnder them, to guide them to the Towne, which they knew was not farre off.

Citt. So Sir.

Nor. But their Horses, hauing libertie of Reynes giuen them, sought to receiue as little of the blustering Stormes as their Maisters did, and turning their heads as much as they could out of it, left the beaten Path (all hidden in Snow,) and forsaking the direct way to the Towne, had gotten on a suddaine into one of the Woods at least foure or fiue Miles: By which time, the two *Londoners* wondring they were not yet at the Towne; and being halfe dead with cold, looked vp, and found themselues not onely out of their way, but that the Sky was so darke, that they had no hope to come into the right way againe: Trees they saw on euery side, and thicke Groves, but not so much as the glimpse of a Candle a farre off in any house, (which is as a Loadstarre to a discomforted Traueller in the night,) no neither (for all their listning) could they heare the voyce either of Man or Beast, to assure them that people were not farre off from them.

Citt. Most lamentable.

Nor. To stay there still was dangerous; to goe forward (they knew not whither) more dangerous: of two euils, they made choyce of the least; and that was, to trust to the mercy of Almighty God, to preserue them in that place till morning. Their Horses they tyed vp, to a cold Maunger, and to worse Prouander: their Maisters had as bad an Inne, as the Seruants: Meate had they none, Fire had they none, no Bedde but the Earth, no Light but the Starres of Heauen.

Good Guestes and a bad Inne.

Citt. You make Water euen stand in mine Eyes at the report.

Nor. In this dolefull estate chearing vp one another the best that they could; and walking vp and downe to keepe their numbed bodyes in heate, behold, one of the two, what with cold, and what with conceite of so vnfortunate an accident, fell sodainely sicke. What comfort was neere him: none, but his friend, that stood at the same doore of mercie with him.

Citt. Alacke, alacke.

Nor. That dangerous cold Feauer more and more shaking him; the last fitte that held him, ended both his sicknesse, and his life.

One of them dyes.

Citt. Dyed hee there?

Nor. There, in the Armes of his Friend, and his mother (the Earth) hee dyed.

Citt. What a terrour was this to his dessolate Companion?

Nor. How could it be otherwise? Yet God suffering one to liue, least the Fowles of the Ayre, should have deuowred both, and so their deaths not haue bin knowne. Hee, so soone as euer any light from heauen shewen-foorth, tooke his way and leaue of his dead Friend, to finde out some Towne; and did so: where, to some of the dwellers relating the sadde storie of himselfe and Friend, pittie (as it could not otherwise choose) so stirred in their bosomes, that along they went with him to the dolefull place and spectacle; which taking vp, and hauing bestowed due rites of Buriall vpon it; the other Friend, ouer grieuing at the losse of his Companion, and at so rare and vnheard-of a Calamitie, fell likewise extreamely sicke in the same Towne: And whether he did recouer or not, I haue not heard.

Citt. I haue not heard of a Newes that so deepely hath strucke sorrow into mee.

Nor. I beleeue you: Let blacke Cloudes fly togeather; heere be more of the same sadde coloure, which I report not for certaine truthes, but as flying Newes; and these they are. I heard, that a company of Horse-men riding togeather, spyed another Horseman ryding singly by himselfe, some quarter of a Mile before them in plaine view, and on a sodaine was vanished cleane out of sight; at which they all much wondring, considering the planenesse of the way: and misdoubting the worst, noted the place (so neere as they could) where they lost a sight of him: And putting Spurres to their Horse, came, and found both Man and Horse falne into a Pitte of Snow, strugling and striuing for life. Whereupon, leaping from their Horses, with much adoe they saued both Horse and Man, and drew them foorth. In labouring to doe which, not farre from him, lay three or foure

Other strange euents.

men more, and their Horses vnder them, buried in the same Pitte of Snow.

Citt. To second this report of youres: A Customer of mine, no longer agone then yesterday, told mee heere in my Shoppe, that vpon *Newmarket* Heath in *Cambridge shire*, three men in seuerall places, were found dead in the same manner.

Nor. Not vnlikely. And in many other Countries, many more, both Men, Women, and Children, haue perished, that neuer will come within reach of our knowledge.

Citt. It is to be feared.

Nor. Amongst so much sowre meate, I should do you wrong, if I did not set one pleasing Dish before you; I will therefore tell you a merry Tale of a Collier, that happened since this great Snow.

Citt. I shall be glad to heare it.

Nor. I call it merry, in respect of the sodaine accident attending on it, albeit it fell out sadly enough for the poore Collier: And thus it was.

Citt. Come on Sir.

A Tale of a Collier.

Nor. In my approching neere *London,* I ouertooke a Collier, and his Teame loaden, walking as stately as if they scornd to carry Coales; for their pace was iust like that of Malt-mens Horses when they march to *London* with full Sackes on their backes. I asked honest *Grimme,* Why hee made no more haste, to put heate into his Horses and him selfe, seeing the Weather so cold: Not so (cryed hee) no more haste then good; Soft Fire makes sweet Malt: Let mee trotte to day, that I may amble more easily to morrow. If I should put my Horses into a chafe, they may hap put me into such a cold sweate, as the last week a Brother of mine (a Coale-carrier too) fell into, which strucke him so to the heart, that five loade of Coales cannot yet warme him.

Citt. Belike then, hee tooke an extraordinary cold.

Another Tale of a Collier of Croydon.

Nor. You shall heare. I prayde my black-facde Gentleman to tell the Newes out: And so (his whissle lying still) he reported, That a Collier going to *London* with a load of Coales, hee himselfe ryding by, on a little sorrie Nagge, it fortuned that a Gentleman discharging his Birding-peece at Fowle, some of the small Shott flying through a Hedge, happened to tickle my fellow Colliers Nagge; which hotte showre put more courage into him, then euer the Whip was able to giue him, insomuch that he ran away with the Collier as fast, as if hee had been ryding to Hell, to serue their Fornaces there with Fyring: the whole Teame spying their Maister in his vn-vsual post-gallop, and frighted with the noyse of the Peece, left the High-way (their ordinarie beaten path,) and as if the Diuell had daunc'd in one of the Sackes, after the Collier they ran, who cryed, *Hey,* and *Hoe,* and *Ree,* and *Gee*; but none of his carterly Rethoricke was able to stay them, vntill Cart and Coales were ouerthrowne, and with the fall, the Axletree broken. By which time, albeit the Colliers Nagge was halfe come to his wittes, yet the Collier himselfe began to be starke mad.

The Colliers Horse will stand on no ground.

The blacke Tragedie

Citt. By my fayth hee had reason.

Nor. And in that furie (quoth the other Collier) hee fell a cursing of Gunnes, bade a Pox of all Powder; cryed out, It was a shame, that poore harmelesse Birds could not be suffered in such pittifull cold weather, to saue them-selues vnder a Bush, when euery lowsie Beggar had the same libertie, but that euery paltrie Peter-gunner, must shoote Fire and Brimstone at them. But the wofull spectacle of his Great Coale, turnde and grinded into Small, by the iogging and ioulting: and his Horses beeing in such a durtie pickle, made him giue ouer cursing: So that taking his Teame out of the Cart, and tying the Fore-horse to a Hedge, backe gallops my fellow Goose-stealer, to the next Towne for a new Axletree. In whose vnhappie blacke absence, the former Bird-killer making another shoote, the whole Teame (now madder then before, as beeing not vsed to such Musicke,) brake from the Hedge; and beeing out of their *Croydon Coranto,* vp Hill, and downe Dale, they fly, as if Wild-fire had been tyed to their tayles; vntil at last, happening into a narrow Lane, deepely filled vp with Snow, on they rushe: the first (like ill Companie on a Shroue-tuesday) drawing on the second, and so hee the third; and then not being able to turne backe, but strugling and beating way in that cold passing, where none was to be had: In the ende beeing tyred with striuing downe the poore Beastes fell,

The Collier tickles it for a Satyre.

Hinc illæ Lacrimæ.

Madd horse play.

and there were styffled in the Snow. Thus was the Colliers Tale to mee; but what the lamentations of the other Collier were at his comming backe, I thinke you may guesse.

Cit. Such, that I warrant you, he wept more warme water, then euer he had at any countrie Barbers to wash his smutty Face on a Satterday night.

Nor. You haue heard of some misfortunes, lately happening vnto certaine Grasiers:

Cit. No indeede, Sir.

A Tale of Grasiers.

Nor. Then take it for truth and on my credite, that a good company of them comming up togeather to *London* with great store both of Sheepe and Bullocks, they lost, by reason of the Snowes and deepe Wayes, so many of either (especially of Sheepe) that perished in great numbers, euen on the way, and before their faces, that if they had been sold to their value, it had been a sufficient estate to haue maintainde a very good man, and haue kept him rich all his life time.

An old Man is a new Almanacke.

Cit. I beleeue you: But I pray Sir, What is your opinion of this strange Winter: Giue mee your iudgement I beseech you, of these Frostes and Snowes; and what (in the schoole of your Experience) you haue read, or can remember, may be the effects, which they may produce, or which of consequence are likely now to follow.

What is likely to happen vpon this great Snowe.

Nor. I shall doe my best to satisfie you. When these great Hilles of Snow, and these great Mountaines of Yce be digged downe, and be made leuell with the Waters; when these hard Rockes shall melt into Riuers, and these white Fethers of Heauen sticke vpon the backes of Floodes; and that sodaine Thawes shall shew, that the Anger of these Winter stormes are mollified: then it is to be feared, that the swift, violent, and vnresistable Land-currents (or rather Torrents) will beare downe Bridges, beate downe Buildings, ouer-flow our Corne-fields, ouer-run the Pastures, drowne our Cattell, and endanger the liues both of Man and Beast, traualing on their way; And, vnlesse Gods hand of Plentie be held open, a Dearth, to strike the Land in the following Sommer.

Cit. You say right. This Prognostication which your Judgement thus lookes into, did alwayes fall out to be true.

Nor. These extraordinarie Feauers (shaking a whole Kingdome) haue alwayes other mortall Diseases wayting vpon them.

Cit. Wee are best to feare it; and by fearing, prouide against them.

Nor. I pray God (at whose commaund the Sunne sendes foorth his heate, and the Windes bitter Stormes to deface the fruites of it,) that in this last Affliction sent downe in Flakes from the angry Element, all other Miseries may be hidden, swallowed, and confounded.

Cit. I gladly, and from my heart, play the Clarke, crying, *Amen.*

Nor. But I pray Sir, now you haue melted a great part of our North-country Snow out of mee, How hath your Cittie heere (with all their Castles, and *S. George* a horsebacke to helpe it,) borne off the storme:

Cit. Marry, I will tell you how, sir: Just as our *London* Fencers often times doe in their Challenges: Shee has taken it full vpon the Head.

Nor. Mee thinkes, and I see it with mine eyes, it cannot hurt you much; for your Streets are fuller of people then euer they were.

The hurt the Cittie takes by this Snow.

Cit. True sir: but full Streetes, make Shoppes emptie: It's a signe that Tradesmen and Handy-crafts, haue either little to doe, or else can doe little, by reason of the Weather, when they throw by their Tooles, and fall to flinging of Snow-bals. I assure you Father, the tyranny of this Season, killes all trading (vnlesse in villanie, which shrinks for no Weather) so that all Commerce lies dead. Besides, it lessens our Markets for prouision, so that all sort of Food was neuer more deare: It eates vp Firing, and almost starues the Poore, who are not able to buy Coale or Wood, the rates vpon euery Frostie Morning being lifted vp and raysed at the pleasure of euery paultry Chandler. Men of Occupations, for the most part lie still; as Carpenters, Bricklayers, Playsterers, and such like: not one of these, nor of many other, turnes

Alchimist, for (vnlesse they bee Shooe-makers) none can extract or melt a penny of Siluer out of all these heapes of Snow.

Nor. You now haue giuen mee a large satisfaction.

Cit. Nay, if you should walke but along one streete onely in *London;* and that is *Thames* streete, and to see their Cellers and Ware-houses full of rich Merchandize, drownd, and vtterly spoyld, you would both wonder at the losse, which cannot be set downe; and lament it, albeit you know it to be none of your owne.

The dwellers in Thames street.

Nor. I doe already (by your report, to which I giue much credite) lament it in others, as if it were mine owne. I loue not these Tragicall passions, I suffer for them vpon the reporting. But putting them by, I pray Sir, seeing I haue vnladen my selfe to you here in your shop, send not you mee home like a Colliers Horse, onely with an empty Sacke on my backe: let mee haue some good Newes to carry with mee.

Cit. The best, and most noble, that I haue at this time, to bestow vpon you, is to request you to step into Smithfield, where you shall see by the carefull prouidence, care, and industrie, of our Honorable Senators (the Fathers of our Cittie) much Money buried vnder that durtie Fielde, by the hyring of hundreds of Labourers to reduce it (as it is reported), to the fairest and most famous Market-place, that is in the whole Kingdome.

The paving of Smithfield.

Nor. A Market-place! now trust mee, it standes fit for so noble a purpose, and will be a memorable Monument to after Ages, of the royaltie, diligence, wisedome, and brauerie of this. But where shall your *Cheapside* Market be then kept, this must either hinder that, or that this:

Smithfield made a Market place.

Cit. *Cheapside* shall by this meanes, haue her Streetes freed from that trouble, by sending it hither, if (as it is reported) it proue a Market place. It will adde that beautie to that spacious place, which in former times hath by Horses and Paniers, and Butter-wiues, been taken from it: Nay, the very Street it selfe, by this meanes, will shew like a large new *Exchange,* or *Rialta;* such a commerce of Gentlemen and Cittizens will be seene there dayly by walking vpon it.

Nor. I thanke you for this Newes; this goes with mee into the *North:* And when I heare that the worke is finished, Ile take off one ten yeares of mine, because Ile come vp lustily to *London* once againe, to see such an honour to your Cittie.

Cit. And when you doe, you shall finde (as Report already giues it out) besides the Market, two goodly Receiptes for Water fairely built, to adde vnto it the greater glory and beautie.

Nor. Your Cittie is full of honourable deedes; and euer may it be so. I haue troubled you long: your Mony will I bring to you to Morrow morning; in the meane time, because (as durty as your Streets are) I must trot vp and downe, to dispatch many businesses. I will for this time, take my leaue of you; and the rather, for that (you see) it hath now left snowing.

Cit. Sir, you are most heartily wel-come.

FINIS.

THE LIFE
OF
Long Meg of Westminster:

CONTAINING

THE MAD MERRY PRANKES SHE PLAYED IN HER LIFE TIME,
NOT ONELY IN PERFORMING SUNDRY QUARRELS
WITH DIVERS RUFFIANS ABOUT LONDON:

BUT ALSO HOW VALIANTLY SHE BEHAUED HER SELFE IN
THE WARRES OF BOLLOINGNE.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR ROBERT BIRD, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT
HIS SHOP IN ST. LAWRENCE LANE, AT THE
SIGNE OF THE BIBLE.

1635.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Reader would perhaps take but little interest in the inquiry whether the Heroine of the following amusing Tract, was a real or fictitious personage; yet the discussion of the question might furnish a dissertation of no trifling extent. The present writer, however, deems it sufficient to say, he inclines to the opinion that Long Meg, Gillian of Brainford, Dobson, and others of the same stamp, whose tricks have given rise to similar narrations, were real characters of notoriety.

Our Heroine must have died previous to 1594, in which year her exploits were exhibited in a dramatic form by my Lord Admiralls men.*

Gabriel Harvey, in his "Peirce's Supererogation, or a New Praise of the Old Asse," London, 1600, 4to. pp. 145, 6, speaks of her in the following terms:

" Phy, long Megg of Westminster would have bene ashamed to disgrace her Sonday bonet with her Satterday witt. She knew some rules of decorum: and although she were a lustie bounsing rampe, somewhat like Gallemella, or maide Marian, yet was she not such a roinish rannell, or such a dissolute gillian-flurtes, as this wainscot-faced Tomboy."

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* Reed's Shakspeare, vol. iii. p. 362.

In a rare tract, entitled " Hollands Leaguer, or an Historical Discourse of the Life and Actions of Dona Britanica Hollandia the Arch Mistris of the Wicked Women of Eutopia ; London, printed for Richard Barnes, 1632;" mention is made of a house kept by Long Meg on the Southwark Side. "It was out of the *Citie*, yet in the view of the *Citie*, only divided by a delicate *River;* there was many handsome buildings, and many hearty neighbours, yet at the first foundation, it was renowned for nothing so much as for the memory of that famous *Amazon*, *Longa Margarita*, who had there for many yeeres kept a famous *infamous* house of open Hospitality." Prefixed to the tract is a wood cut view of the house.

Most of the readers of this will recollect a large stone in the Cloisters at Westminster, known by the name of Long Meg: whether any relation may exist between this stone and our personage it is not our present purpose to discuss, and the circumstance is mentioned here merely on account of the coincidence of names.

This rare tract is given to the reader with confidence, as an amusing specimen of the popular stories of our ancestors.

TO THE GENTLEMEN READERS.

GENTLEMEN, to please your fantasies, many men haue made many pleasant jigges, as the Iests of Robin-hood, and Beuis of South-hampton, and such others, as serue to procure mirth, and driue away melancholy. Now at last, because amongst the three Doctors of health, Doctor Merryman is not the least, and that longer liues a man of pleasant disposition, than a sad Saturnist; when I was idle, I bethought me of Long-Meg of Westminster, and her merry pranks, as pleasant as the merriest Iest that euer past the Presse; a woman she was of late memory, and well beloued, spoken on of all, and knowne of many; therefore there is hope of the better acceptance.

Gentlemen, *Augustus* would reade our Riddles, when he had tossed ouer *Virgils* Heroicks, and *Cicero* would oft delirate after his weighty affaires; so I hope you will vse Long Meg as a whetstone to mirth after your serious businesse: and if shee haue any grosse faults, beare with them the more patiently, for that she was a woman; and presuming thus farre on her behalfe, I bid you farewell.

THE CONTENTS OF THIS BOOKE.

THE first Chapter containeth where she was borne, how she came vp to London, and how she beat the Carrier.

The second containeth, how she placed herselfe at Westminster, and what she did at her placing.

The third containeth, how she vsed one of the Vicars of Westminster, that was a morrow Masse priest, and how she made him pay his score.

The fourth containeth, a merry skirmish that was betweene her and Sir Iames of Castile a Spanish Knight, and what was the end of their combat.

The fifth containeth, the courtesie shee used towards Souldiers, and other men that carried good minds.

The sixth containeth, how she used the Bailiffe of Westminster, that came into her Mistresse house, and arrested one of her friends.

The seuenth containeth, how shee vsed Woolner the singing-man of Windsor, that was the great eater, and how she made him pay for his break-fast.

The eighth containeth a merry jest, how she met a Nobleman, and how she vsed both him and the watch.

The ninth containeth, how Meg went a shrouing, and how as she came home she fought with the Theeues at S. Iames corner, and helpt Father Willis the Carrier to his hundreth markes againe.

THE CONTENTS OF THIS BOOKE.

The tenth containeth how Harry the Hostler was prest, how she vsed the Constable and Captaine, and how shee tooke presse money to goe to Bulloigne.

The eleuenth containeth how she beat the French-men from the walles of Bulloigne, and behaued her selfe so valiantly, that the King gaue her eight pence a day for her life.

The twelfth containeth her combate shee had with a Frenchman before the walls of Bulloigne, and what was the issue of the combat.

The thirteenth containeth her comming into England, and how she was married, and how she behaued herselfe to her Husband.

The foureteenth containing a pleasant jest, how she vsed the angry Miller of Epping in Essex.

The fifteenth of the mad prank shee plaid with a Water-man of Lambeth.

The sixteenth how shee kept a house at Islington, and what lawes she had there to be obserued.

The seuenteenth how she vsed Iames Dickins, that was called huffing Dicke.

The eighteenth how shee was sicke, and visited by a Frier who enjoyned her Penance, and what absolution she gaue him after for his paines.

THE
LIFE AND PRANKES
OF
Long Meg of Westminster.

CHAP. I.

Containeth where she was borne, how she came vp to London, and how she beate the Carrier.

IN the time of *Henry* the eighth of famous memory, there was borne of very honest and wealthy Parents, a Maid called for her excesse in heighth, *Long Meg*: for she did not onely passe all the rest of her Country in the length of her proportion, but euery limbe was so fit to her talnesse, that she seemed the picture and shape of some tall man cast in a womans mould. This *Meg* growing to the age of eighteene, would needs come vp to London to serue, and to learne City fashions: and although her friends perswaded her to the contrary, yet forsooth she had determined, and vp she would. Wherefore she resolued to come vp, with a Carrier a neighbour of hers, called Father *Willis,* and so she did, accompanied with three or foure Lasses more, who likewise came to London to seek seruice. Well, hauing taken their leaue of their friends, forward they goe on their Journey, and by long trauell at last got within the sight of London, which joyed their hearts greatly. But when they drew nigh, her fellow partners waxed sad; which *Meg* espying, cheared them vp thus: What Lasses in a dumpe, and we so nigh London? cheare vp your hearts; though we be come from our friends, yet here shall we haue good Mistresses, that will allow vs good wages: here at London may wee winne gold and weare gold; and there are not so many Maides before vs, but we may finde husbands as well as the rest: all is not broken stuffe the Carrier brings, and if it were, what then? that the eye sees not, the heart rues not; let vs doe well, and we shall haue well. Tush *Meg*, quoth one of her fellowes, it is not that grieues me; but father *Willis* the Carrier you know is a hard man, and he asketh more than wee haue in our purses, for letting vs ride a little on his packsaddles. If that be all, quoth *Meg*, feare not, Ile speake the Carrier so faire, and if words will not preuaile, Ile so rib-roast him with a cudgell, as he shall wish he had neuer beene Cole-carrier to such shrewd wenches. This somewhat cheared them; and euen as they were in this talke, Father *Willis* ouertooke them, and seeing they were beyond Islington ready to enter into Saint *Iohn's* street, he demanded money of them for riding. What will you haue of vs, quoth *Meg*? Marry quoth Father *Willis*, ten shillings a peece. What? what? answered she, you are a merry man, ten shillings a peece, 'tis more than we haue in our purses: no Father *Willis*, you are our Countrey-man and our neighbour, and we are poore wenches, and farre from our friends, you shall haue a gallon of Wine, and if euer we come to keepe houses of our owne here in London, looke for amends; in the meane time to make vp the bargaine, you shall haue of euery one of vs a kisse for a favour. At this the Carrier storm'd and *Meg* smilde, which made him so mad, that he swore if they would not pay him his money, he would cudgell ten shillings out of their bones.

Marry content, quoth *Meg*, and she vp with her staffe and laid him on the shoulders, where shee so beswinged the Carrier and his man, that poore Father *Willis* desired her for Gods sake to hold her hands. Not I base knaues, quoth shee, vnlesse vpon conditions, and that is this, that first thou bestow vpon each of us an Angell for a handsell to our good lucke hereafter in London; and that thou sweare, not to depart out of this Towne till thou hast placed vs all three with Mistresses: otherwise, as I am a true Lancashire Lasse, I will so bumbaste thee, as all Carriers shall take examples by thee for displeasing a Countrey wench.

The Carrier hauing felt the weight of her armes, thought better to giue three Angells, than to haue so many lambasts as she would bestow vpon him; and therefore not onely out with his Pouch, and gaue them the coyne, but swore not to depart before he had seene them placed.

CHAP. II.

Containing how he placed her in Westminster, and what shee did at her placing.

AFTER the Carrier had set vp his Horse, and dispatcht his lading, hee remembred his Oath, and therefore bethought him how he might place these three Maides: with that hee called to minde that the Mistresse at the Eagle in Westminster, had spoken diuers times to him for a seruant, he with his Carriage passed ouer the fields to her house, where he found her sitting and drinking with a Spanish Knight called Sir *Iames* of *Castile*, Doctor *Skelton* and *Will Sommers;* told her how hee had brought vp to London three Lancashire Lasses, and seeing she was oft desirous to haue a Maid, now she should take her choyce which of them she would haue.

Marry quoth shee (being a very merry and a pleasant woman) Carrier thou commest in good time, for not onely I want a Maid, but heere bee three Gentlemen that shall giue me their opinions, which of them I shall haue. With that the Maids were bidden come in, and she intreated them to giue their verdict. Streight as soone as they saw Long *Meg*, they began to smile; and Doctor *Skelton* in his mad merry veine, blessing himselfe, began thus:

Domine, Domine, vnde hoc?
What is she in the gray cassock?
Me thinkes she is of a large length,
Of a tall pitch, and a good strength,

With strong armes and stiffe bones
This is a wench for the nones.
Her lookes are bonny and blithe,
She seemes neither lither nor lithe,
But young of age,
And of a merry visage,
Neither beastly nor bowsie,
Sleepy nor drowsie,
But faire fac'd and of a good size,
Therefore Hostesse, if you be wise,
Once be ruled by me,
Take this wench to thee.
For this is plaine,
Shee'l doe more worke than these twaine,
I tell thee Hostesse, I doe not mocke,
Take her in the gray cassocke.

What is your opinion, quoth the Hostesse to Sir *James* of *Castile?* Question with her, quoth he, what she can do, and then Ile giue you mine opinion: and yet first Hostesse, aske *Will Sommers* opinion. *Will* smiled, and swore that his Hostesse should not haue her, but king *Harry* should buy her. Why so *Will*, quoth Doctor *Skelton?* Because (quoth *Will Sommers)* that she shall be kept for breed: for if the King would marry her to long *Sanders* of the Court, they would bring forth none but souldiers. Well, the Hostesse demanded what her name was? *Margaret* forsooth, quoth she. And what worke can you doe? Faith little Mistresse (quoth she) but handy labour, as to wash and wring, to make cleane a house, to brew, bake, or any such drudgery: for my needle, to that I haue beene little vsed to. Thou art, quoth the Hostesse, a good lusty wench, and therefore I like thee the better: I haue here a great charge, for I keepe a victualling house, and diuers times there come in swaggering fellowes, that when they haue eat and dranke, will not pay what they call for; yet if thou take the charge of my drinke, I must be answered out of your wages. Content Mistresse quoth she, for while I serue you, if any stale Cutter comes in, and thinkes to pay the shot with swearing, hey, gogs wounds; let me alone, Ile not onely (if his clothes be worth it) make him pay ere hee passe, but lend him as many bats as his crag will carry, and then throw him out of doores. At this they all smiled. Nay Mistresse, quoth the Carrier, 'tis true, for my poore pilch here is able with a paire of blew shoulders to sweare as much; and with that he told them how she had vsed him at her comming to London. I cannot thinke, quoth Sir *Iames* of *Castile,* that she is so strong. Try her, quoth *Skelton,* for I haue heard that Spaniards are of wonderfull strength.

Sir *Iames* in a brauery would needs make experience, and therefore askt the Maide, if she durst change a box on the eare with him: I sir, quoth she, that I dare, if my Mistresse will giue me leaue. Yes *Meg,* quoth she, doe thy best. And with that it was a question who should stand first, Marry that I will sir, quoth she; and so stood to abide Sir *Iames* his blow; who forcing himselfe with all his might, gaue her such a box, that she could scarcely stand, yet shee stirred no more than a post. Then Sir *Iames* he stood, and the Hostesse willed her, not spare her strength. No, quoth *Skelton,* and if she fell him downe, Ile giue her a paire of new hose and shoone. Mistresse, quoth *Meg,* (and with that she strooke vp her sleeue) here is a foule fist, and it hath past much drudgery, but trust me I thinke it will giue a good blow: and with that she raught at him so strongly, that downe fell sir *Iames* at her feet. By my faith quoth *Will Sommers,* she strikes a blow like an Oxe, for she hath strooke down an Asse. At this they all laught. Sir *Iames* was ashamed, and *Meg* was entertained into seruice.

CHAP. III.

Containing how she vsed one of the Vicars of the Church, that sung Masse, and how she made him pay his score.

IT fortuned that not long after shee was placed, but her Mistresse liked passing well of her; and *Meg* proued so good a Wench, that she was cal'd of euery body *Long Meg* of Westminster: much talke went on her, shee was in euery man's mouth, for her talnesse and her strength, insomuch that one of the Vicars of Westminster, that was a tall lusty lubber, and a stout Franion, who trusted much of his strength, thought to buckle with her, and to giue her the ouerthrow.

Now sir his custome was euery morning after Masse, hee would come in and call for a pot of Ale and a toste, and euer he set it vpon the score, till it came to a Crowne or a Noble, and then he paid. One frosty morning amongst the rest, he came with halfe a dozen of his friends, whom he had made priuate to his practice, and cal'd for Ale. *Meg* was ready, and brought Master Vicar his morning draught. After he and his companions had drunk a while, he said, he was come to cleere his score, and askt what was on it? Marry Master Vicar, quoth *Meg*, just fiue shillings and three pence. Fiue shillings and three pence, quoth he; why I tell thee foule Stallion, I owe but three shillings and a penny, and no more shalt thou haue of me. What a coozening queane haue you got here Hostesse, that misreckons mee at one time but two shillings and two pence? she may well be cal'd Long *Meg* of Westminster.

I haue referred all to my Maid, quoth the Hostesse, and I maruell shee would deale worse with you than with all the neighbours; but howsoeuer, shift it betweene you two.

The foule ill take me Mistresse, quoth *Meg*, if I misreckon the limmer Lowne one penny; and therefore Vicar I tell thee, 'fore thou goe out of these doores, Ile make thee pay euery farthing, if thy Cap be of wooll.

Away you foule rake-sham'd whore, quoth he, If thou pratest to mee, Ile lay thee at my foote. Marry there goes the game, quoth *Meg*, we'll to it for a plucke or two, I'le giue the Vicar the first handsell; and with that she reach'd the Vicar a box on the eare, that he reel'd againe. The Vicar stept to her, and together they goe by the eares; where betweene them was many a sore blow. The Vicars head was broken, *Megs* clouts were puld off, and he held her by the haire of the head. The Vicar was shauen, and so *Meg* could take no vantage, but at last shee pummeld him so, that hee was cleane out of breath, and then

Meg (as lusty as shee was at the first) tooke Master Vicar by both the eares, and holding his head to a post, ask'd him, how much he owed her? Marry quoth he, three shillings and a penny. Then Knaue, quoth she, must I knocke out of your bald pate, two shillings and twopence more, and so oftentimes will I wring your head against the wall: and with that shee began to sing a faire plaine song betweene the post and Master Vicars pate. But hee in his triple voice cried out, Fiue shillings and three pence, fiue shillings and three pence. With that she swore shee would not let him goe till hee did lay downe the mony: which he did; and for his jest was wel beaten home to his chamber.

CHAP. IV.

Containing the merry skirmish that was betweene her and Sir Iames *of* Castile *a Spanish Knight, and what was the end of their combat.*

THERE was a great Suter to *Megs* Mistresse, called Sir *Iames* of *Castile,* to winne her loue: but her affection was set on Doctor *Skelton*; so that Sir *Iames* could get no grant of any fauour. Whereupon he swore, if hee knew who were her Paramour, hee would runne him thorow with his Rapier. The Mistresse (who had a great delight to bee pleasant) made a match betweene her and Long *Meg,* that she should goe drest in Gentlemans apparell, and with her sword and buckler goe and meet sir *Iames* in Saint *Georges* field, if she beat him, she should for her labour haue a new Petticote. Let me alone, quoth *Meg,* the deuill take me if I lose a petticote. And with that her Mistris deliuered her a suit of white Sattin, that was one of the Guards that lay at her house. *Meg* put it on, and tooke her whinyard by her side, and away she went into Saint *Georges* fields to meet Sir *Iames.* Presently after came Sir *Iames,* and found his Mistris very melancholy, as women haue faces that are fit for all fancies. What aile you sweet heart, quoth he, tell me? hath any man wronged you? if he hath, be he the proudest champion in London, Ile haue him by the eares, and teach him to know, Sir *Iames* of *Castile* can chastise whom he list. Now (quoth she) shall I know if you loue me, a squaring long Knaue in a white Sattin doublet, hath this day monstrously misused me in words, and I haue no body to reuenge it: and in a brauery went out of doores, and bad the proudest champion I had come into Saint *Georges* fields, and quit my wrong if they durst: now Sir *Iames* if euer you loued mee, learne the knaue to know how he hath wronged me, and I will grant whatsoeuer you will request at my hands.

Marry that I will, quoth he, and for that you may see how I will vse the knaue, goe with me, you and Master Doctor *Skelton*, and be eye-witnesses of my manhood.

To this they agreed, and all three went into Saint *Georges* fields, where Long *Meg* was walking by the wind-mils.

Yonder (quoth she) walkes the villain that abused me. Follow me Hostesse, quoth Sir *Iames*, Ile goe to him. As soone as hee drew nigh, *Meg* began to settle herselfe, and so did Sir *Iames*: but *Meg* past on as though she would haue gone by. Nay sirrah, stay quoth Sir *Iames*, you and I part not so, we must haue a bout ere we passe, for I am this Gentlewomans Champion, and flatly for her sake will haue you by the eares. *Meg* replied not a word: but only out with her sword, and to it they went. At the first bout *Meg* hit him on the hand, and hurt him a little, but endangered him diuers times, and made him giue ground, following so hotly, that shee strucke Sir *Iames*' weapon out of his hand; then when she saw him disarm'd, shee stept within him, and drawing her Ponyard, swore all the World should not saue him. Oh save mee Sir (quoth hee) I am a Knight, and 'tis but for a Womans matter, spill not my blood. Wert thou twenty Knights, quoth *Meg*, and were the King himselfe heere, hee should not save thy life, unlesse thou grant mee one thing. Whatsoever it bee quoth Sir *Iames*. Marry quoth shee, that is, that this night thou wait on my trencher at Supper at this womans house, and when Supper is done, then confesse me to be thy better at weapon in any ground in England. I will do it sir (quoth he) as I am a true Knight. With this they departed, and sir *Iames* went home with his hostesse sorrowfull and ashamed, swearing that his adversary was the stoutest man in England.

Well, Supper was provided, and Sir *Thomas Moore* and divers other Gentlemen bidden thither by *Skeltons* means, to make up the Jest: which when sir *Iames* saw invited, hee put a good face on the matter, and thought to make a slight matter of it, and therefore beforehand told Sir *Thomas Moore* what had befallen him, how entring in a quarrell of his hostesse, hee fought with a desperate Gentleman of the Court, who had foiled him, and given him in charge to wait on his trencher that night. Sir *Thomas Moore* answered Sir *Iames,* that it was no dishonour to be foyled by a Gentleman, sith *Cæsar* himselfe was beaten backe by their valour.

As thus they were discanting of the valour of Englishmen, in came *Meg* marching in her mans attire: even as shee entered in at the doore. This, Sir *Thomas Moore* (quoth Sir *Iames*) is that English Gentleman, whose prowesse I so highly commend, and to whom in all valour I account my selfe so inferiour. And Sir, quoth shee, pulling off her Hat, and her haire falling about her eares, hee that so hurt him to day, is none other but Long *Meg* of *Westminster,* and so you are all welcome. At this all the company fell in a great laughing, and Sir *Iames* was amazed, that a woman should so wap him in a whinyard: well, hee as the rest was faine to laugh at the matter, and all that supper time to wait on her trencher, who had leave of her Mistris, that shee might be master of the feast: where with a good laughter they made good cheere, Sir *Iames* playing the proper Page, and *Meg* sitting in her Maiesty. Thus was Sir *Iames* disgraced for his loue, and *Meg* after counted for a proper woman.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

Containing the courtesie shee used towards Souldiers, and other men that carried good minds.

THERE resorted to the house where *Meg* was resident, all sorts of people, and the more for to see her, insomuch that shee was famoused amongst all estates, both rich and poore, but chiefly of them which wanted or were in distresse, for whatsoever shee got of the rich (as her gettings were great) shee bestowed it liberally on them that had need: there was no poore neighbour dwelling nigh, whom shee would not releeue: and if shee had seene one come in, that looked like a man, and was in distresse, if hee called for a pot of Beere, and had no more money in his purse than would pay for his pot, shee would straight of her owne accord, set before him Bread and Beefe: and if the man sayd hee wanted money, eate knaue (quoth shee) for they must eate that are hungry, and they must pay that haue money: And when he had done, shee would giue him pence in his purse, and so let him goe: for this cause was she generally loued of all good fellowes about the City. On a day there came a poore Souldiour to the house, that was in great distresse, simply attired, and worse maimed, and sitting him downe, called for a pot of Beere, and with that fetcht a great sigh. How now man quoth *Meg*? what cheere? faint not, after a deare yeere comes a cheape, an ounce of care payes not a dramme of debt: bee merry and fall to some service, for such idle slaues as thou art, are moathes of the Common-wealth, that take no other delight but to live of the sweat of other mens browes. Thou art big enough, and God hath done his part in thee, a man proper enough, and now for to liue in this distresse? if I were a man, by Cockes bones I would rather with my sword teare money out of the peasants throats, than liue in this want: but see the slavish and base humors of Cowards, that for feare live in misery.

Oh *Meg* (quoth hee) you may say what you please, because you are a woman, but divers in the City haue knowne mee, and seene the day when I lived like a man; but falling into extreame sicknesse, so lost my seruice, and now beeing recovered of my health, because I am poore, I cannot get entertainement: and for to picke a pocket, to filch any thing out of a house, or to steale a sheete from the hedge, or to rob any poore Man, Women, or Children as they travel, I hold it in scorne, and had rather bee famisht, than incurre such base discredite. Marry, now that distresse wrings mee, though I have beene true all my life, yet if I had a good sword, and a good Horse, perhaps I should bee so bold as talke with a purse. Thou (quoth *Meg*) trust mee I thinke thou darst not looke on a Sword? If thou darst, wilt earne a brace of Angels? I will lend thee a Sword and Buckler, goe thy wayes into Tuttlefieldes, and walke there, and when thou seest a Servingman, a tall knave, with a blew Coat, and a white sattin doublet to passe by, pick some quarrel with him, and well beswinge him, and I will beside, giue thee a new suit of apparell. It is a match quoth the fellow, and after hee had drunke his pot off, shee gave him his tooles and sent him packing, and straight slipt on a doublet and a paire of hose, and her blew coate, tooke a Sword and Buckler, and downe to Parliament staires, there tooke Boat, as though she had crost the water from Lambeth to the Fields. She was no sooner on land, and walking towards Chelsey, but the fellow spied her, and crost the way, and began to give some crosse language, whereupon together they went by the eares: *Meg* loath to hurt, was almost put to her shifts, for hee being a marvelous tall fellow, and one that feared not his flesh, layd on such a load, that *Meg* was faine to bid him stay his hand, and to discover her selfe who she was. Then home they went together, and straight she gave him a faire suit of apparell, a good sword and money in his purse, and bad him be a true man, and get him a service, and when that money was spent, come to her for more.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

Containing how she used the Baily of Westminster, that came into her Mistresses house, and arrested one of her friends.

ON a time it so fell out that a Gentlemen whom *Meg* much favoured for his courteous and honest conditions, was sitting drinking in the house, being a man that was greatly indebted; and his creditor having intelligence where he was, went to the Bayly and desired him to arrest him, but when hee told the Baily where he was, hee was very loath, yet for that hee promised him forty shillings, hee undertooke the matter, and away he went with his processe: And comming into the place where he sate, cal'd for a pot of Beere; after he had sitten a little, he stept to the Gentleman and arrested him, and desired the rest of the company in the Kings name to see the peace kept.

The Gentleman at this lookt as pale as ashes, and *Meg* comming in, askt what's the matter? Oh *Meg* (quoth he) and fetcht a great sigh, I am arrested and alas utterly undone: for if I go to prison, I shall have so many actions clapt on my back, as I shall never be able to come out. Arrested (qd *Meg*) what in our house? Why Master Baily is this a neighbourly part, to come into our house and arrest our guests? Well, 'tis done and past, and therefore play the good fellow, take an angel quoth shee and see him not, here be none that be blabbes, hold thy hand here's the money, man, Ile pay it for the Gentleman my selfe. No quoth the Bayly, I cannot doe it, for the Creditor stands at the doore. Bid him come in quoth *Meg*, and we will see if we can take up the matter. So the Creditor came in, but was found very obstinate. Whereupon *Meg* made no more adoe, but rapt him on the pate with a quart pot, and bad him get him out of doores, for knave quoth shee, he can but go to prison, and that is the worst, and there he shall not lie long, if all the friends I have will serve to fetch him out.

The man went away with a good knocke, and then the Baily would have bin gone with his prisoner. Nay quoth *Meg*, Ile fetch a fresh pot to drinke with my friend, and then fare you well: presently she came into the parlour againe, and brings a great Rope in her hand, and knitting her browes: sir knave quoth she, Ile learne thee whilest thou livest to arrest a man in our house. By gogs bloud you villaine, Ile make you a spectacle for all such Catchpoules; and with that shee fell upon him, and with the helpe of another Mayd, tyed the Rope fast about his middle: then quoth she to the Gentleman, away sir, shift for your selfe, take no care, Ile pay the Baily his fees before he and I part. Away slipt the Gentleman, as glad as a man might be. Then she dragged the Baily into a backside where was a great Pond, and setting him to one side, she went to the other, and bade the Baily either wade thorow the Pond, or else she would dragge him thorow. Whereupon the poore Baily was faine up to the chin to go thorow the water; and when he was on the one side, she ran on the other, till she made him goe thorow fiue or six times: then assoone as he was come out, Now Master Baily (quoth she) Ile pay you your Fees, and so up with a holly Cudgell, and did ribroast him, that he lay for almost dead: when she had done, shee bade him beware and alwaies know, that their house was a Sanctuary for any Gentleman, and not a place for Bailies and Catchpoules.

The poore Bayly went thence well beaten and with his mends in his hands: for shee was so generally well beloved, that none durst meddle with her.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Containing how she used Woolner the singing man of Windsor, that was the great eater, and how she made him pay for his breakefast.

A COMPANY of pleasant Gentlemen, that thought to bee merry with long *Meg*, went and got one *Woolner*, a singing man of *Windsor*, that was a great trencher man, and would eate more at once then five or six men: him they made privy to their conceit, and hee being a mad companion, was as willing as the rest, and so they agreed, that when the meat stood on the boord ready for guests to come to dinner, *Woolner* should aske what he should pay to breake his fast, for that his businesse was great, and he could not tarry till others came in: so hee resolved and went to the house where *Meg* dwelt: The Gentlemen before were come in, and in a roome hard by, were set at breakefast, looking when *Woolner* should come in: At last came in *Woolner* with a great staffe in his hand, as though he had beene a traveller.

Hoe Hostesse quoth he, is there any meate for men? I that there is quoth *Meg*, looke man the table is full, we tarry but for guests, and they will bee here presently: what shall I give you quoth *Woolner*, because I cannot stay, to eate my breakefast? Six-pence, quoth *Meg*, eate and spare not whiles thy belly cracke. You shall have it quoth *Woolner*, with that he sat him downe, and she fetcht him drinke, having businesse other where, came not to him almost in an howers space: In which time *Woolner* had eaten up all the meat; as much as would have served ten men; with that taking his staffe in his hand, came out, and called for his hostesse: I thanke you quoth he, here is six pence, and so fare you well.

Much good doe it you quoth shee, and going in to see what hee had eaten, found nothing of all her meate but the bare bones, and cleane Platters: with that shee whipt out againe, and as hee was going out of doore, tooke him by the cloake and puld him backe: Friend quoth she, you should be sicke by your stomache, need you not a little *Aqua-vitæ?* Sirra thou hast eaten up all the meate. I that I haue quoth he, and if I haue pocketted up any crumme but in my bellie, Ile giue thee ten pound for it. And shall I have but sixe pence for all quoth shee, there being so much as would haue serued ten men? No quoth *Woolner,* not a farthing more of me, for I agreed with thee for so much and so much thou hast, and more thou shalt not haue. Then quoth she sit still, and see how honestly I will deale with thee: Shee went into the Larder, and filled all the boord againe with good meat, and at every messe set a pottle of Wine, and at the boords end laid a good pike staffe.

Now fellow quoth shee, of three things choose one: seeing thou hast eaten so much meat for thine owne pleasure, eate this for mine, and so drinke off all the Wine and pay nothing: or else take that staffe and haue a bout with me for thy brakefast, hee that gives the first three Venies scape free: Or lastly, faire and orderly pull forth your purse, and pay me for my victuals: If you will doe none of these three, by Heavens maker, wert thou a devill (as I think thee little better by thy belly) I would bumbaste thee till thy bones cracke, or mine armes be weary.

I will do none of them quoth *Woolner,* I haue paid you what I promised, and so farewell: and quoth shee you shall haue what I promised, and so fare you well: with that she shut the Parlour doore, and with a cudgel began to labour him, insomuch that he cryed out, and the Gentlemen hearing, burst in, and in a merry mood told her all, and paid for the breakefast, and so made them friends.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

Containing a merry Iest, how shee met a Nobleman, and how she vsed both him and the watch.

IT chanced in an Evening, that *Meg* would needs be pleasant, and so put on a suit of mans apparell, and with her Sword and Buckler walkt the streets, looking how shee might find some means to be merry: the same night it so fell out, that a Nobleman, being a very wagg, would needs go abroad with one man to see fashions: and comming downe the *Strand* he spied *Meg*, and seeing such a tall fellow swinging vp and downe, thought to haue a cast at him, and came to him. How now fellow (quoth he) whither walke'st? Marry quoth *Meg*, to S. Nicholas shambles to buy calues heads. How much monie, quoth the Nobleman, hast in thy purse? In faith quoth *Meg*, little enough: wilt lend me any? I marry, quoth the Nobleman, and putting his thumbe to *Megs* mouth, said, that's a tester. *Meg* with that up with her fist, and tooke him a good box on the eare, and sayd, there sir knave, there is a groat againe, and now I owe you but two pence. With that the Nobleman drew, and his man too, and *Meg* was as ready as they, and together they go, but *Meg* hous'd them both into a Chandlers shop: so the Constable rose to part the fray; and when he came in and asked what they were, the Nobleman told his name, wherat they all put off their Caps. And what is your name qd. the Constable to *Meg?* Mine, master Constable, quoth shee, is *Cutbert Curry-knave.* Upon this the Constable commanded to lay hold upon her, and to carry her to the Counter. *Meg* out with her sword, and set upon the watch, and behaved her self very resolutely: but the Constable called for clubs, and then was *Meg* faine to cry out: Masters hold your hands, I am Long *Meg* of *Westminster.* With that they all staid, and the Nobleman would needs have her, the Constable, and all the rest in a Taverne, and there ended the fray in a cup of Wine.

CHAP. IX.

Containing how Meg went a shroving, and as shee came home how she fought with the Theeues at S. Iames corner, and helpt Father Willis the Carrier to his hundred Markes again.

WHEN Shroue-tuesday was come, then maides must abroad with Young men for Fritters; *Meg* with two more of her companions, and *Harry* the Ostler of the house would needs to Knights-bridge a Shroving, where they had good cheere, and payed frankly: for *Meg* would make euery man drinke that she saw passe by: and seeing that day, came but once a yeere, she thought to lay it on, and spare for no cost. Well, the day slipt away, and night came on before they were aware, that they payd what they ought, and took their leaue to depart.

Father *Willis* the Carrier that brought *Meg* vp to London, and had been thereaway to take money, and had received an hundred Markes; and for the next day he must out of Towne, he would that night needs to Westminster to see Long *Meg*. Hee and his man trudge downe apace, and as they came just against Saint *Iames* corner, there were they met by two tall fellowes, and rifled of all they had, their money taken from them, and they throwne bound in a ditch. When they had this coyne, saith the one, Now let vs be gone. Nay by the Masse, quoth the other, we have sped well, and seeing wee haue so good hansell, wee'll haue one fling more whatsoeuer fall out. As thus they stood talking, they spyed Long *Meg*, and her companions: yonder are three wenches, quoth he, will yeeld vs something, and a tall squire that goes with them; lye that we be not spied. As *Meg* was comming downe, shee sayd to the two other Maides, Come set the better foot afore, 'tis late, and our Mistresse will think much we tarry so long. Lord blesse vs and send vs well home, quoth the other, for this is a dangerous corner. I haue heard them say, that Theeues lye heere and rob men as they passe. Theeues, quoth *Harry?* feare not theeves as long as I am in your company, for Ile dye before you take any wrong.

With that on they went, and as they past by where Father *Willis* lay, he saw them and cryed out; Alas good Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, helpe a poore man that lies bound here, robbed of that he hath. And there let him lye, quoth *Harry*, for I warrant they are theeues, that counterfeit themselues bound, to haue vs come to them. What man, quoth shee, art afraid? giue mee thy staffe; for by the grace of God I will goe see who it is: and if they be any false knaues, 'tis Shroue-tuesday at night, and I will giue them ribroast for a farewell to flesh: with that she tooke *Harries* staffe, and forward she went, and when shee came at them, Father *Willis* knew her, and cried out, Ah good *Meg*, helpe to vnbinde mee, for I am vndone, and almost kild. Why what art thou? I am, quoth hee, *Willis* the Carrier, who brought you vp to London. Alas poore man quoth shee, and so she vnloosed him, and questioned with him how the matter fell out? He told her all, that comming to see her he was rob'd. She bade him be of good cheare, and take no care, for she would do her best towards his losses. And as they were walking homeward, one of the theeues with a good sword and buckler stept before, and said, Stand. Stand, quoth *Meg*, what meane you by that? Marry, quoth hee, Gentlemen, 'tis hot weather, and you must goe lighter home by your gownes and purses. You looke not with the face, quoth *Meg*, as though you would hurt women. As thus they were talking together, *Harry*, Father *Willis* and his man, ran away and hid themselues, and the two wenches stood quaking for feare, and presently put off their gownes and their purses. Dispatch, quoth one of the theeues, and off with your gowne, and so fare you well. It shall be done sir, quoth shee. As soone as *Meg* had stript her into her petticoate, and was light and nimble, she stept to her staffe, and stretching her selfe, said: Sirs, this is the matter, you tooke euen now a hundred Markes from a poore Carrier, now you rascals I am come to claime it, and I will haue it euery penny ere I passe, or I will leaue my carkasse here for a pawne. Shee is a good Wench I warrant her, quoth one of the Theeues; and therefore for thy sake take vp your gownes and your pursues, and farewell, and pray for good fellowes. Nay, you cowardly knaues, quoth she, we must not part so. I must haue a hundred Markes out of your flesh; and therefore play me this faire play: you are two to one, lay me downe the hundred Markes to our gownes and our purses, and they that win all weare all, I or you. Content, quoth the theeues, and because thou art so lusty, when we haue well beswindged thee, wee'll turne thee into thy smocke, and let thee goe home naked. Doe your worst, quoth she: now lasses pray for me: With that she buckled with these two sturdy knaues, and hurt the one sore, and beat downe the other, that they intreated her vpon their knees to spare their liues. I will villaines, quoth she, vpon Condition. Any condition Mistresse, quoth they whatsoeuer. Marry then, quoth she, the conditions shall be these:

1 First, that you neuer hurt woman, nor company that any woman is in.
2 *Item*, that you hurt no poore man, or impotent man.
3 *Item*, that you rob no children nor innocents.
4 *Item*, that you rob no Pack-men nor Carriers: for their goods nor money is none of their owne.
5 *Item*, no manner of distressed persons: but of this I grant you exceptions, that for euery rich Farmer and country chuffe that hoord vp money, and lets the poore want, such spare not, but let them feele your fingers.

How say you, quoth she, are you content to agree to these conditions? We are, quoth they. I haue no bookes about me, quoth she: but because you shall obserue your oath firme and without wauering, sweare on the skirt of my smocke. Although it grieued them to be thus disgraced, yet feare made them grant to any thing: and taking her smocke, they layd their hands on it, and said thus:

Be we leefe or be we loath,
By the skirt of your smocke, we will neuer breake our oath.

With that they kist her smocke, and rose up. And *Meg* shee gaue the wenches their gownes and their purses, and tooke the hundred Markes vp vnder her arme, bade them farewell.

The men desiring to know who it was that had so lustily beswinged them, said: nay Mistresse for all this sorrow, let vs haue so much fauour at your hands, as to tell your name. She smiled and made them this answere:

> If any aske you, who curried your bones?
> Say, Long Meg of Westminster met with you once.

And with that shee went away; and they full of griefe that a woman had giuen them a foyle.

CHAP. X.

Containing how Harry the Oastler was prest, how she vsed the Constable and Captaine, and how she tooke presse-money to goe to Bulloigne.

IN these daies while *Meg* flourisht, and was famous thorow England for her doughty deeds: there fell out great strife between the French King and *Henry* King of England: whereupon he resolued to leuie an Army of men, with a mighty Fleet to passe into France; vpon which there was a general presse through England, and especially about London and Westminster, because the King would leaue the borders of his Land strong. In this hurly burly it so fell out, that the Constable of Westminster pressed *Harry* the Ostler, that was servant with Long *Meg;* who being very loth to goe, dealt so with *Meg,* that shee began to intreat the Constable, and to tell him that he was the only stay of his Mistresses house: and if that he were prest forth, his Mistresse were vndone.

All this could not persuade the Constable, but *Harry* must needs goe. Whereupon *Meg* said he should not goe. And so they grew at words, till *Meg* lent the Constable a box on the eare. And with that all the street was on an vproare, that the Constable was beaten for pressing of a man. The Captaine hearing this, came downe himselfe, and askt who had strucke the Constable? Marry, quoth *Meg,* that haue I; and were it not that I reuerence all Souldiers, and honour Captaines, I would strike thee too, if thou didst offer to presse our man. At this the Captaine smiled. Nay, neuer laugh, quoth *Meg*, for I dare doe as much as any of thy Troope, either aduancing my Colours, tossing of a Pike, or discharging of a Peece: for proofe, quoth shee, (and shee snatcht a Caliuer out of ones hand that stood by) see how well I can both charge and discharge; which shee performed with such nimblenesse and actiuitie, that they all wondred at her: and therefore Captaine, quoth shee, presse not our man; but if thou wilt needs haue one of euery house, giue me presse-money, and I will goe under thy Colours. At this they all laught, and the Captaine drew his purse and gaue her an Angell. Whereupon according to her promise, shee made prouision for her passage, and went with him to Bulloigne.

CHAP. XI.

Containing how she beat the French-men from the walls of Bulloigne, and behaued her self so valiantly, that the King gaue her eight pence a day for her life.

AFTER the KING had passed over the Sea, and had entered vp into France with a strong power, hee encamped before Bulloigne, and then first wonne Bulloigne, and the Oldeman, so that he tooke the Towne wholly in possession, and plac'd a garrison in it. The *Dolphin* of France vpon this came downe with a great power, and lay before Bulloigne; and vpon one night taking aduantage of the time, hee slew one of the Sentinels, and came to the walls, where he was discouered by the Watch, who straight rung alarum: but they in the Towne wearied with long waking, were in a dead sleepe, so that they made little haste. *Meg* being then a Landresse in the Towne, and vp late at worke, stept vp, and called vp the rest of the women, and with a halbert in her hands, came to the walls, vpon which some of the French were entred, and there shee layd on loade, and caused her women souldiers to throw downe stones and scalding water in such abundance, that maugre their teeth shee rebatted them from the wals, before the Souldiers in the towne were up in armes; and at the issue was one of the formost with her Halbert to follow the chase.

The report of this valiant deed being come to the eares of the King, he for her life time gaue her eight pence a day.

CHAP. XII.

Containing the combate shee had with a French-man before the walls of Bulloigne, and what was the issue of the combat.

WHILE the *Dolphins* army lay in view before Bulloigne, there was a French-man that sundry times would as on a brauery come within shot and tosse his Pike, and so goe his way. Long *Meg* seeing the pride of this French-man, desired that a Drum might be sent, to signifie that there was a common Souldier, a young stripling, that would at the push of the pike try a veny with their Champion. Upon this it was agreed, and a place appointed between both armies where they should meet, and fight it out to the death. The day came, the French-man all in a jollity came and tost his Pike before the Walles. With that *Meg* was ready, and went out and met him, and without any salutations they fell to blowes, where there was a long and dangerous Combate: but at last *Meg* ouerthrew him, and layd him along; when she had done, she puld out her Symeter and cut off his head: and with that pulling off her Burganet, shee let her haire fall about her eares; whereby the French-men perceiued she was a woman: and thereupon the English without Bulloigne gave a great shout; and *Meg* by a Drumme sent the *Dolphin* his Souldiers head, and said, an English Woman sent it him. Whereupon he commended her much, and sent her an hundred Crownes for her valour.

CHAP. XIII.

Containing her comming into England, how she was married, and how she behaued herselfe to her husband.

WHEN the warres were ended in France, *Meg* came home to her old place of residence to Westminster, where shee was married to a proper tall man, and a Souldier, who vsed her very well, and shee returned him as great obedience, coueting any way that shee might to breed his content: which hee perceiuing, loued her passing well; yet for that he had heard sundry of her exploits that shee had done, and how mankind she was, on a time he sought to pick a quarrell and fall out with her, and calling her aside vnto a backe chamber, stript her into her petticoate, and there deliuered her one staffe, and tooke himselfe another, and told her, that for that hee had heard shee was so mankind as to beat all shee met withall, he would try her manhood, and therefore bade her take which cudgell she would. She replied nothing, but held downe her head. And with that hee layd her on three or foure blowes. And shee in all submission fell downe vpon her knees, desiring him to hold his hands and to pardon her. Why, quoth he, why take you not the sticke and strike? Husband, quoth she, whatsoeuer I haue done to others, it behooueth me to bee obedient towards you; and neuer shall it be said, though I can swindge a Knaue that wrongs me, that Long *Meg* shall be her Husbands master: and therefore vse me as you please. At these words they grew friends, and neuer after fell they at such mortall jarre.

CHAP. XIV.

Containing a pleasant jest, how she vsed the angry Miller of Epping in Essex.

MEG going one day with sundry of her neighbours to make merry in Essex all a foot, because the weather was coole, and it was a great Frost, and none with them but a young stripling of some foureteene yeeres old, for their husbands about businesse were gone another way; it chanced that they went by Epping Mill, where the Miller was looking out, for the wind blew faire, and the Sailes went merrily. The little boy, that was a wag, thought to be merry with the Miller, and therefore called to him, Miller put out, put out Miller. What shall I put out boy, quoth the Miller? Marry, quoth the boy, a theeues head, and a theeues pair of eares, put out Miller, put out. At this the Miller in great rage came running downe and beat the boy. *Meg* stept to him and would haue stayed his hand; and the Miller lent her three or foure good bangs ouer the shoulder. *Meg* felt it smart, and shee got within the Miller, wroong the sticke out of his hand, and beswinged him well: and when she had done sent the boy up for an empty sacke, and put the Miller in all but the head, and then tying him in the rope wherewith they puld vp sackes, hal'd him halfe way, and there let him hang. Where the poore Miller cried out for helpe, and if his wife had not beene comming, himselfe had beene almost kil'd, and the Mill for want of corne set on fire. Thus *Meg* plagued the sawcie Miller of Epping.

CHAP. XV.

Containing the mad prank shee played with a Water-man of Lambeth.

LONG *Meg* on a time had occasion to crosse the water with a Sculler from Westminster: when shee was landed, frankly she drew her purse and gaue him a groat: as she was going vp the staires (for all she had dealt so liberally with him) he began to hum: which she hearing, came backe againe, and questioned which of them all she had behaued her self so ill vnto, as to deserve a hum at their hands? Every man excused himselfe, and seemed verry sorry; for she was well beloued of all the Watermen: but at last one said flat, it was he that brought her ouer. Then Gentlemen, quoth she, give me leaue to reuenge my owne wrong. Doe what you will, quoth they. Then she stept streight to him that brought her ouer, and with a stretcher beat him while he was not able to stirre him: after by the middle she tyed him to the sterne of the Boat with a great rope, and then taking the sculls her selfe, rowed him over at the boats arse, and so crost the water once or twice; and when she had well washt him, she landed him at Westminster, and bade him remember how he misused any honest face, and taking a piece of chalke, wrote on the wall hard by the staires:

If any man aske who brought this to passe,
Say it was done by a Lancashire Lasse.

CHAP. XV.

Containing how she kept a house at Islington, and what lawes she had there to be obserued.

AFTER her marriage shee kept a house of her owne, and lodging and victuals for Gentlemen and Yeomen, such and so good, as there was none better in all Islington, for there then shee dwelt. Now for that oftentimes there resorted Gentlewomen thither, and diuers braue Courtiers and other men of meaner degree, her house was spoken of: and on a time the Constable came to search, and would not bee answered what guests she had, but needs would be an eye-witnesse. Whereupon *Meg* in a great choller started vp in her smocke, and taking a strong cudgell in her hand, opened the doore for the Constable. Come in, master Constable, quoth she, and let me see your warrant, what suspected persons you seeke for in my house, take heed you goe not an inch beyond your text, for if you doe, were you a Constable of Velvet, I will as well beswindge you as any Constable was beswindged since Islington stood; and when you haue done, you carry none out of my house to night, for I will be answerable for all that are resident in my house. Whereupon master Constable seeing the frownes of *Megs* face, and the fearefull Bastinado, told her quietly, he would take her word, and so departed.

Meg because shee would haue a tricke aboue all others in her house, as indeed shee surpassed all other victualers in excesse of company: for she refused none of what estate or condition soeuer; so she hanged vp this Table in her house, wherein were contained these principles:

1 *Imprimis,* That what Gentleman or Yeoman came into her house, and had any charge about him, and made it priuy to her or any of her house, if he lost it by any default, shee would repay it him ere he past: but if he did not reueale it, and after said he was rob'd, he should have ten Bastinadoes with a cudgel, and be turned out of doores.

2 *Item,* Whosoeuer came in and cald for meat, and had no money to pay, should haue a good box on the eare, and a crosse made vpon his backe, that he should neuer be suffered to drink more in the house.

3 *Item,* That if any good fellow came in and bewailed his case, that hee was hungry and wanted money, he should haue his belly full of meat on free cost, and money in his purse, according to his calling.

4 *Item,* That if any Ruffler came in, and made an Alehouse-brawle, and when he had done, would not manfully goe into the field and fight a bout or two with Long *Meg,* the Maides of the house should drie beat him, and so thrust him out of doores.

These and many such principles had she set vp in her house, that made her house quiet.

CHAP. XVII.

Containing how she vsed Iames Dickins, that was called huffing Dicke.

ONCE it chanced that *Meg* was making her selfe readie to go to dinner with certaine of her friends at the Bell in Aldersgate street, amongst the which was Sir *Iames Withrington,* an old acquaintance of hers: and in the meane time while she was making her selfe ready, came in this huffing *Dicke,* that had made a vow to quarrell with Long *Meg,* and cal'd for Ale. The

Wench brought him a pot. And he straight in a brauery swore gogs wounds whore, what a pot is this that thou giuest me? and threw it against the wall. The wench began to scold with him for breaking her pot. And hee vp with his sword, scabberd and all, and beate her so, that the girle cryed out. And she being aboue, and hearing that noise, came running downe, and askt what is the matter? The poore wench cryed, and told her all. Sir, quoth she, very mildely, what is the reason you breake my pots, and then beat my seruants? Why, quoth *Dicke*, if thou mislikest it, mend it if thou canst. Marry, quoth she, I will; and with that reatcht downe a Pike staffe, and bade him follow. Out went swearing *Dicke*, all in his huffes with *Meg* into a close hard by; and together they goe: where *Meg* so beat him, that she had almost kil'd him. Oh hold thy hands, quoth hee, and spare my life. Then the Deuill take me, quoth shee: for the King hath granted me a pardon for one man; and hang me if it be not thou, vnlesse thou wilt grant me one condition, and that is this: Thou shalt put my Maides Petticotes on, and follow me to day to dinner with a Sword and a Buckler; and I will be drest in mans apparell. Rather kill me, quoth the fellow. Marry content, quoth *Meg*, and began to lay sorer bats vpon him.

Alas, quoth hee, hold your hands, and I will doe whatsoeuer you will haue me. Upon this she let him goe, and carried him home with her, and drest him full womanlike. Well bodied he was, but hee had a long beard, to couer which, on his knees he craued he might haue a muffler to shadow it; at last she granted it: and hauing drest her selfe in mans attire, tooke a Forest bill on her necke, and forward they went downe to Smithfield. Euery one that saw the wench carry the Sword and buckler, laught, that a multitude of people, of men, women, and boyes followed. When they were right against the Buls-head at the Barres, a crue of cutters that knew long *Meg*, met her, and askt her how she did, and what quarrel shee had in hand, that her selfe wore a Forest bill, and her Maid a sword and buckler? Faith, quoth *Meg*, a little broyle, and my Boy was not at home, and so I tooke my Mayd, and shee forsooth must weare a muffler : and with that shee pul'd the clout from his face, and his blacke beard was seene. All the crue straight knew him, and began to fall into a great laughter, demanding the reason of this strange chance. *Meg* told them all what had hapned: whereupon *Dicke* would not follow any further. By gogs bloud knave, quoth shee, goe to dinner with mee, or I will cut off thy legs with my Forest bill. So poore *Dicke* was fain to trudge; and in she came and shewed Sir *Iames Withrington* what a proper Page shee had got. Hee and the rest of the guests laught heartily at the matter; and full mannerly did he waite upon her trencher all dinner time: and when dinner was done, shee called him to her, and said: Now sirrah I discharge you my seruice, and cashiere you for a brawling Knave; yet for that you shall not say you served an ill Mistresse, hold, there is forty shillings for thy labour to buy thee a new suit of apparell. *Dicke* took the mony, and for very shame went out of London, and was neuer seene within the City after.

CHAP. XVIII.

Containing how she was sicke, and visited by a Frier, who enjoyned her pennance; and what absolution she gaue him after for his paines.

IN Queene *Maries* dayes, when Friers and Monks began againe to shew themselues, it chanced *Meg* fell sicke of a grievous sickenesse, as such grosse bodies are commonly pinched with sorest paines, when they once fall into any infirmity. The disease hauing more matter to worke vpon in a fat body than a leane: an instance of this principle was *Meg*, for shee lay so mortally sicke, that the Physicians gaue her ouer: yet at last her Criticall day came, wherein triall of her health should bee had to see whether Nature or disease were strongest. Nature had the supremacy, and *Meg* began to amend, insomuch that shee could sit vpright in her bed. On a day when shee was growne more strong, it chanced that Frier *Oliuer* who was one of the morrow Masse Priests, called to remembrance that *Meg* was sicke: whereupon taking his Portuce by his side, hee thought to fetch some spending money from her, and walkt to her house, where he came very grauely; and at that instant were diuers of her neighbours come to see how she did. As they were talking, word was brought to *Meg* that Frier *Oliuer* was there with his Portuce and his holy water. What, quoth shee, after meat, mustard; 'tis no matter, bid him come in; and with that Frier *Oliver* comes in with *Deus hic,* and salutes her and all the rest of the Wives, saying, he was very sorry to see *Meg* sicke; but, quoth he, 'tis the Visitation of the Lord for the great sinnes you haue committed: for *Meg,* quoth he, you haue beene counted a lewd woman, a swearer, a ruffler, a fighter, and a brawler, as you may see here in your Chamber the signes; and with that he pointed to the Swords and Bucklers, Pike-staues and Halberts that hung there; these, quoth he, are tokens of your ill life, and how in your sicknesse you haue not repented you of your former ill life. Many such hard words did Frier *Oliuer* giue her, and told her that for her offences she must take the pennance of the Church, otherwise, quoth he, I must complaine to the Ordinary, and so to the Bishop, and compell you to it by injunction.

Meg, who fretted at this sawcinesse of the Frier, because her neighbours were there, forbare him, and demanded what her pennance might be? Marry, quoth Frier *Oliuer,* because you haue beene a publike offender, you must haue publike pennance; and therefore I doe enjoyne you that presently vpon the recouery of your health, the next Sunday at Masse you come into the Church, and there kneele before the Pulpit, and declare to the people the vilenesse of your life; and so shall you then and there before the Parish aske God and the world forgiuenesse.

At this the very fire seemed to sparkle in *Megs* eyes for anger, but shee concealed it with patience, and intreated Frier *Oliuer* to be good vnto her and enjoyne her some other punishment. The good Wives intreated for her, but all in vaine: for Frier *Oliuer* swore either she should abide that pennance, or else he would complaine to Bishop *Bonner*.

Why, quoth *Meg*, neuer knew I Frier but he was a good fellow; is there not a shift of descant left for me?

Faith no, quoth hee, vnlesse thou bestow fiue pound for fiue solemne Masses. Marry Frier, quoth *Meg*, and that shalt thou haue straight, rather than I will abide such publike shame: with that shee cal'd her Maid, and bade her fetch twenty English Crownes, which she gaue to the Frier, whose heart leapt at the sight of the golde: hee soone pocketted it vp, and said, that he would say fiue Masses himselfe for her soules health. And vpon this *Meg* and the Frier were agreed. Well, all seemed to the best, and the company began to be merry. Frier *Oliuer* hee was blithe and gamesome with the young Wives, and shewed fruits of his life in his outward actions: for a more bawdy Frier there was not in England, and that knew *Meg* well enough: but letting that passe, the wvies said that they must be gone, for their houre was come.

Why, whither goe you, quoth *Meg?* To a Churching at Chelsey, quoth they. Marry and I will be your man thither, quoth Frier *Oliuer*. The wives were glad of the Friers company, and so they tooke their leaues, and left *Meg* passing melancholy at the knauery of the Frier. Well, revenge broyled in her brest, insomuch that she start vp (sicke as she was) and drest her selfe in mans apparell, and in the afternoone hauing a good bat in her hand, walked easily into Tuttlefields to watch the comming home of the Frier: where she had not walked long, but she espied where the Gossips came, man'd only with the Frier. And *Meg* crost the Lees and met them; and at her first salute, greeted the Frier, and said: *Oliuer*, I am sent to thee from God, not onely to tell thee of thy sinnes, but to enjoyne thee pennance for the same. First, as concerning thy offences, thou liuest not as holy men of the Church should: for thou art a whoremaster, frequenting the company of light and lasciuious women, giuen to couetousnesse, and sitting all day bibbing at the Ale-house, when thou shouldest bee at thy booke, with a thousand more other offences, which I cannot rehearse; therefore hath the Lord sent thee thy choice, whether thou wilt from this place be whipt naked to the Priory in Westminster, or else pay

pay twenty Nobles to the poore mens box; one of these resolve vpon; for Frier, one thou must doe, and shalt doe, before thou stirre. At this Frier *Oliuer* was amazed, and could not tell how he should like this sudden greeting, but said, Who or what art thou? No man, Frier (quoth *Meg*) but a spirit, sent from God to torment thee. At this the Wives were all afraid: and the Frier sayd, *In nomine Iesus* auoid Satan, and would haue runne his way. *In nomine Iesus* stand Frier, quoth *Meg*, and with that she reacht him such a rap, that the Frier thought his backe had beene broken: Sirrah, quoth shee, dispatch, either chuse to be whipt from hence to the Doctor, or else pay downe twenty Nobles. Alas quoth the Frier, I haue not twenty Nobles, but here is ten Angels in gold, and foureteene shillings in white money, take that for a satisfaction of mine offences, giue it for my sinnes to the poore.

Giue it me, quoth *Meg*. As soone as she fingered the money, she told him, that seeing he wanted some odde money, that his body should pay it: and with that she light vpon the Friers pilch, and beat him so sore, that he trusted better to his feet than his hands, and so ran away.

The poore Women they were sore agast, but *Meg* straight discouered her selfe. When they saw her face, and knew all, their feare was turned to laughter; and away they went to the Tauerne, and spent the Friers fourteene shillings in good cheere. The newes of this (as Women are good Secretaries) came to the eares of all the Friers in Westminster, how Frier *Oliuer* was served, which was such a disgrace to him, that a long while after he was ashamed to shew his face in the streetes.

FINIS.

THE
FAMOUS HISTORIE
OF
Fryer Bacon.

CONTAINING

THE WONDERFULL THINGS THAT HE DID IN
HIS LIFE: ALSO THE MANNER OF
HIS DEATH;

WITH THE LIVES AND DEATHS OF THE TWO CONIURERS,
BUNGYE AND VANDERMAST.

Very pleasant and delightfull to be read.

PRINTED AT LONDON BY E. A. FOR FRANCIS GROUE, AND
ARE TO BE SOLD AT HIS SHOP, AT THE VPPER-END OF
SNOW-HILL, AGAINST THE SARAZENS HEAD.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT has been more particularly the fate of the earlier authors of great discoveries to be suspected as magicians: the wonder which these discoveries excited, operating upon uncultivated minds in an age of ignorance, naturally led to the conclusion that effects seemingly surpassing mere human powers, were produced by supernatural agency. Hence from the exaggerated accounts of astonished cotemporaries have arisen those popular legends which are attached to the names of some of the brightest luminaries of science, and noblest ornaments of the annals of mankind. Not only philosophers and men of letters, ancient and modern, but even the poet Virgil, has been made the hero of a similar fiction.

Roger Bacon, whose light, like that of a most brilliant phænomenon, was too bright for merely human eyes in that dark age of ignorance, created himself enemies by the splendour of his talents, and the popular prejudice was eagerly seized upon, and augmented by the craft and contrivance of the dissolute and ignorant clergy, whose vices he had attacked. Thus arose the following fable, which has now for upwards of two centuries amused and astonished "the great vulgar and the small."

The latter impressions have however been much abridged, and it is here printed in all its integrity from an early copy. A drama on the subject from the fertile pen of the unfortunate Robert Green, was printed in 1615.

THE
FAMOUS HISTORIE
OF
Fryer Bacon.

Of the Parents and Birth of Fryer Bacon, *and how he addicted himselfe to Learning.*

IN most men's opinions he was borne in the West part of *England* and was sonne to a wealthy Farmer, who put him to Schoole to the Parson of the Towne where hee was borne: not with intent that he should turne Fryer (as he did,) but to get so much vnderstanding, that he might manage the better that wealth hee was to leaue him. But young *Bacon* tooke his learning so fast, that the Priest could not teach him any more, which made him desire his Master that he would speake to his Father to put him to *Oxford,* that he might not lose that little learning that hee had gained: his Master was very willing so to doe: and one day meeting his Father, told him, that he had receiued a great blessing of God, in that he had giuen him so wise and hopefull a child, as his sonne *Roger Bacon* was (for so was he named) and wished him withall to doe his duty, and to bring vp so his Child, that hee might shew his thankfulnesse to God, which could not better be done then in making of him a

Scholler; for he found by his sodaine taking of his learning, that hee was a childe likely to proue a very great Clerke: hereat old *Bacon* was not well pleased (for he desired to bring him vp to Plough and to the Cart, as hee himselfe was brought) yet he for reuerence sake to the Priest, shewed not his anger, but kindly thanked him for his paines and counsell, yet desired him not to speake any more concerning that matter; for hee knew best what best pleased himselfe, and that he would doe: so broke they off their talke, and parted.

So soone as the old man came home, he called to his Sonne for his bookes, which when he had, he lock'd them vp, and gaue the Boy a Cart whip in the place of them, saying to him: Boy, I will haue you no priest, you shall not be better learned then I, you can tell now by the Almanack when it is best sowing Wheat, when Barly, Pease, and Beane: and when the best libbing is, when to sell Graine and Cattell I will teach thee; for I haue all Faires and Markets as perfit in my memory, as Sir *John* our Priest has Masse without Booke: take mee this whip, I will teach thee the vse of it, It will be more profitable to thee then this harsh Latin: make no reply, but follow my counsell, or else by the Masse thou shalt feele the smart hand of my anger. Young *Bacon* thought this but hard dealing, yet would he not reply, but within sixe or eight dayes he gaue his Father the slip, and went to a Cloyster some twenty miles off, where he was entertained, and so continued his Learning, and in small time came to be so famous, that he was sent for to the Uniuersity of Oxford, where he long time studied, and grew so excellent in the secrets of Art and Nature, that not England onely, but all Christendome admired him.

How the King sent for Fryer Bacon, and of the wonderfull things he shewed the King and Queene.

THE King being in Oxfordshire, at a Noblemans house, was very desirous to see this famous Fryer, for he had heard many times of his wondrous things that he had done by his Art: therefore hee sent one for him to desire him to come to the Court. Fryer *Bacon* kindly thanked the King by the Messenger, and said, that he was at the Kings seruice, and would suddenly attend him: but Sir, saith he (to the Gentleman) I pray make you haste, or else I shall be two houres before you at the Court. For all your Learning (answered the Gentleman) I can hardly beleeue this, for Schollers, Old-men and Trauellers, may lye by authority. To strengthen your beliefe (said Fryer *Bacon)* I could presently shew you the last Wench that you lay withall, but I will not at this time. One is as true as the other (said the Gentleman) and I would laugh to see either. You shall see them both within these foure houres, quoth the Fryer, and therefore make what haste you can. I will preuent that by my speed (said the Gentleman) and with that rid his way; but he rode out of his way, as it should seem; for he had but fiue miles to ride, and yet was he better than three houres a riding them; so that Fryer *Bacon* by his Art was with the king before he came.

The king kindly welcommed him, and said that hee long time had desired to see him; for he had as yet not heard of his life. Fryer *Bacon* answered him that fame had belide him, and giuen him that report that his poore studies had neuer deserued, for hee beleeued that Art had many Sonnes more excellent then himselfe was. The King commended him for his modesty, and told him, that nothing did become a wise man lesse then boasting: but yet withall he requested him now to be no niggard of his knowledge, but to shew his Queene and him some of his skill. I were worthy of neither Art or knowledge (quod, Fryer *Bacon*) should I deny your Maiestie this small request: I pray seat yourselues, and you shall see presently what my poore skill can performe: the King, Queene, and Nobles sate them all down. They hauing so done, the Fryer waued his wand, and presently was heard such excellent Musicke that they were all amazed, for they all said they had neuer heard the like. This is, said the Fryer, to delight the sense of hearing, I will delight all your other sences ere you depart hence: so wauing his wand againe, there was lowder Musicke heard, and presently fiue dancers entred, the first like a Court-Laundresse, the second like a footman, the third like an Usurer, the fourth like a Prodigall, the fift like a Foole: these did diuers excellent changes, so that they gaue content to all the beholders, and hauing done their dance, they all vanished away in their order as they came in. Thus feasted he two of their sences; Then waued he his wand againe, and there was another kinde of Musicke heard, and whilest it was playing, there was sodainly before them a Table richly couered with all sorts of delicates: then desired he the King and Queene to taste of some certaine rare fruits that were on the Table, which they and the Nobles there present did, and were very highly pleased with the taste; they being satisfied, all vanished away on the sodaine. Then waued he his wand againe, and sodainly there was such a smell, as if all the rich perfumes in the whole world had bin there prepared in the best manner that Art could set them out: whilst hee feasted thus their smelling, he waued his wand againe, and their came diuers Nations in sundry habits (as Russians, Polanders, Indians, Armenians) all bringing sundry kinds of Furres, such as their Countries yeelded: all which they presented to the King and Queene: these Furres were so soft in the touch, that they highly pleased all those that handled them, then after some odde fantasticke dances (after their Countrey manner) they vanished away: then asked Fryer *Bacon* the King's Majesty, if that hee desired any more of his skill? the King answered that hee was fully satisfied for that time, and that hee onely now thought of something that hee might bestow on him, that might partly satisfie the kindnesse that hee had receiued. Fryer *Bacon* said, that hee desired nothing so much as his Maiesties loue, and if that he might be assured of that, hee would thinke himselfe happy in it: for that (said the King) be thou euer sure of it, in token of which receive this Jewell, and withall gaue him a costly Jewel from his necke. The Fryer did with great reuerence thanke his Majestie, and said: as your Maiesties vassall you shall euer finde me ready to do you seruice, your time of neede shall finde it both beneficiall and delightfull. But amongst all these Gentlemen, I see not the man that your Grace did send for me by, sure he hath lost his way, or else met with some sport that detaines him so long, I promised to be here before him, and all this noble Assembly can witnesse I am as good as my word: I heare him comming: with that entered the Gentleman all bedurted (for he had rid through ditches, quagmires, plashes, and waters, that hee was in a most pittifull case) he seeing the Fryer there looked full angerly, and bid a poxe on all his Deuils, for they had led him out of his way, and almost drowned him. Be not angry Sir (said Fryer *Bacon*) here is an old friend of yours that hath more cause: for she hath tarried these three houres for you (with that hee pulled vp the Hangings, and behinde them stood a kitchin-mayde with a basting-ladle in her hand) now am I as good as my word with you: for I promised to helpe you to your sweetheart, how do you like this? So ill, answered the Gentleman, that I will be reuenged of you. Threaten not (said Fryer *Bacon*) least I do you more shame, and doe you take heed how you giue schollers the lye againe: but because I know not how well you are stored with money at this time, I will bear your wenches charges home: with that she vanished away: the King, Queene, and all the company laughed to see with what shame this Gentleman indured the sight of his greasie sweetheart: but the Gentleman went away discontented. This done Fryer *Bacon* tooke his leaue of the King and Queene, and receiued from them diuers gifts (as well as thankes) for his Art he shewed them.

How Fryer Bacon *deceiued his Man, that would fast for his conscience sake.*

FRYER *Bacon* had one onely man to attend on him, and he too was none of the wisest, for he kept him in charity, more then for any seruice he had of him. This man of his (named *Miles*) neuer could indure to fast as other religious persons did, for alwayes hee had in one corner, or another, flesh which hee would eate when his Maister eat bread only, or else did fast and abstaine from all things. Fryer *Bacon* seeing this, thought at one time or other to be euen with him, which he did one Fryday in this manner, *Miles* on the Thursday night had prouided a great blacke-pudding for his Frydayes fast: this pudding put he in his pocket (thinking belike to heate it so, for his Maister had no fire on those dayes) on the next day, who was so demure as *Miles*, hee looked as though hee would not haue eat any thing: when his Maister offerd him some bread, hee refused it, saying his sinnes deserued a greater penance then one dayes fast in a whole weeke: his Maister commended him for it, and bid him take heed that he did not dissemble: for if he did, it would at last be knowne; then were I worse then a Turke said *Miles:* so went he forth as if he would haue gone to pray priuately, but it was for nothing but to prey vpon his blacke pudding; that pulled he out, (for it was halfe roasted with the heate) and fell to it lustily; but he was deceiued, for hauing put one end in his mouth, he could neither get it out againe nor bite it off, so that hee stamped out for helpe: his Maister hearing him, came; and finding him in that manner, tooke hold of the other end of the pudding, and led him to the hall, and shewed him to all the Schollers, saying: See here my good friends and fellow Students what a deuout man my seruant *Miles* is, he loueth not to break a fast day, witnesse this pudding that his conscience will not let him swallow: I will haue him to be an example for you all, then tyed hee him to a window by the end of the pudding, where poore *Miles* stood like a Beare tyed by the nose to a stake, and indured many floutes and mockes: at night his Maister released him from his penance; *Miles* was glad of it, and did vow neuer to breake more fast dayes whilst that he liued.

How Fryer Bacon *saued a Gentleman that had giuen himselfe to the Deuill.*

IN *Oxfordshire* there lived a Gentleman, that had through his riotous expences wasted a faire Inheritance that was left him by his father: After which hee grew so poore, that he had not wherewith to buy himselfe so much bread as would mainteine his miserable life: the memory of his former state that hee had liued in, and the present want that he now sustained, made him to grow desperate and regardlesse both of his soule and bodies estate: which gaue the Deuill occasion to worke vpon his weaknesse in this manner following.

On a time, hee being alone full of griefe and care, (griefe for his folies past, and care how to get a poore liuing for the remainder of his dayes) the Deuill came to him and asked him what hee wanted (hee came not in a shape terrible, but like an old penny-father.) This Gentleman was amazed at his sodaine presence, but hearing him demand of his wants, hee tooke to him courage and said: I want all things, I want money to buy my apparell, money to buy mee meat, money to redeeme my Land, and money to pay my debts: Can or will you helpe mee in this misery? I will answered the Deuill, on some conditions helpe you to money for to supply all these wants, and that sodainly. On any condition, said the Gentleman, helpe mee, and I sweare for to performe them: I take no oathes (answered the Deuill) I must haue bonds, if you will doe so, meet mee by the Woods side to morrow morning, and there I will haue the moneys ready: I will said the Gentleman (for hee poore man was glad of it on any conditions, as he said before.) The next day hee went to the Wood where the Deuill had promised to meet him: long had hee not beene there, but he beheld the Deuil comming, and after him two other like Seruingmen with Bagges of money: this reioyced the poore Gentlemans heart to thinke that hee should once againe liue like a man. The Deuill comming to him said: sonne I will performe my promise vnto you if that you will seale to the conditions that I haue here already drawne: willingly said the Gentleman, I will, I pray read them: The Deuill read them to this effect: that he lent him so much money as he should haue need of, to be imployed to these vses following: First, to redeeme his morgag'd Land: next to pay his debts: lastly, to buy him such necessaries as hee wanted: this to be lent on this condition, that so soone as he had paid all his debts, that he should be at the lenders disposing, and without any delay, freely to yeeld himselfe to him vpon the first demand of the aforesaid lender. To this the Gentleman sealed, and had the money carried to his Chamber, with which money hee in short time redeemed his Land, and bought such things as he needed, and likewise payed all his debts, so that there was not any man that could aske him one penny.

Thus liued this Gentleman once againe in great credit, and grew so great a husband that he increased his estate, and was richer then euer his father before him was: but long did this ioy of his not continue, for one day hee beeing in his Studie the Deuil appeared vnto him, and did tell him that now his Land was redeemed, and his debts paid, and therefore the time was come that hee must yeeld himselfe to his mercy, as hee was bound by bond. This troubled the Gentleman to heare, but more to thinke how that he must become a slaue to a stranger that hee did not know (for hee knew not as yet that he was the Deuill) but being vrged to answer for himselfe (by the Deuill) hee said that hee had not as yet paid all his debts, and therefore as yet hee was not liable to the bonds strait conditions. At this the Deuill seemed angry and with a fearefull noyse transfformed himselfe to an vgly shape, saying, Alas poore wretch, these are poore excuses that thou framest, I know them all to be false, and so will proue them to thy face to morrow morning, till when I leaue thee to despaire: So with great noyse he went his way, leauing the Gentleman halfe dead with feare.

When he was gone, the Gentleman reuiuing bethought himselfe in what a miserable state he was now in, then wished he that he had liued and died poorely, then cursed he all his ambitious thoughts, that led him first to desire againe that wealth which he had so vainly by his riot lost: then would hee curse his prodigall expences that were the originall of all his misery: thus was he tormented along time in his minde, at last he fully resolued to end his wretched life by some violent death, and to that end he went forth thinking to kill himselfe, which he had done, had it not beene for the Fryer: for as he was falling vpon his sword, Fryer *Bacon* came by and called to him to hold, which he did. Fryer *Bacon* demanded of him the cause why he was so desperate that he would run headlong to hell? O sir, said he, the cause is great, and the relation is so terrible to me, that I would intreat you not to trouble me any more, but to leaue me to my owne will: his answer filled the Fryer with amazement and pitty both at once, which made him to urge him in this manner. Sir, should I leaue you to this wilfull damnation, I were vnfit euer hereafter to weare or touch any robe that belongeth vnto the holy Order, whereof I am a Brother: you know (I doubt not) that there is giuen power to the Church to absolue penitent sinners, let not your wilfulnesse take away from you that benefit which you may receiue by it: freely confesse your selfe (I pray) you vnto me, and doubt not but I shall giue your troubled conscience ease: Father (said this Gentleman) I know all that you haue spoken is truth, and I haue many times receiued comfort from the mother Church, (I dare not say our, for I feare that shee will neuer receiue me for a childe) I haue no part in her benediction, yet since you request so earnestly the cause, I will tell you, heare it and tremble. Know then that I haue giuen my selfe to the Deuill for a little wealth, and he to morrow in this Wood must haue me: now haue you my griefe, but I know not how to get comfort. This is strange (quoth Fryer *Bacon,*) yet be of good comfort, penitentiall teares may doe much, which see you doe not spare; soone I will visit you at your house, and giue you that comfort (I hope) that will beget you againe to goodnesse: the Gentleman with these words was somewhat comforted and returned home. At night Fryer *Bacon* came to him, and found him full of teares for his haynous offences, for these teares he gaue him hope of pardon, demanded further what conditions hee had made with the Deuill: the Gentleman told him, how that he had promised himselfe to him so soone as hee had paid all his debts: which he now had done, for he owed not one peny to any man liuing. Well said Fryer *Bacon*, continue thy sorrow for thy sinnes, and to morrow meete him without feare, and be thou content to stand to the next mans iudgement that shall come that way, whether thou doest belong to the Deuill or no: feare not, but do so, and be thou assured that I will be he that shall come by, and will giue such iudgement on thy side, that thou shalt bee free from him: with that Fryer *Bacon* went home, and the Gentleman went to his prayers.

In the morning the Gentleman (after that hee had blessed himselfe) went to the Wood where he found the Deuill ready for him, so soone as he came neere, the Deuill said, now deceiuer are you come, now shall thou see that I can and will proue that thou hast paid all thy debts, and therefore thy soule belongeth to me. Thou art a deceiuer (said the Gentleman) and gauest me money to cheat me of my soule, for else why wilt thou be thy own Judge: let me haue some other to iudge betweene vs. Content said the Deuill, take whom thou wilt: then I will haue (said the Gentleman) the next man that commeth this way: hereto the Deuill agreed. No sooner were these words ended, but Fryer *Bacon* came by, to whom this Gentleman speake, and requested, that he would be iudge in a waighty matter betweene them two: the Fryer said, he was content, so both parties were agreed: the Deuill said they were, and told Fryer *Bacon* how the case stood betweene them in this manner.

Know Fryer, that I seeing this prodigall like to starue for want of food, lent him money, not onely to buy him victuals, but also to redeeme his lands and pay his debts, conditionarily that so soone as his debts were paid, that hee should giue himselfe freely to mee, to this, here is his hand (shewing him the Bond) now my time is expired, for all his debts are paid, which hee cannot denie. This case is plaine, if it be so that his debts are paid: his silence confirmes it said the Diuell, therefore giue him a iust sentence. I will said Fryer *Bacon*: But first tell me (speaking to the Gentleman) didst thou neuer yet giue the Deuill any of his mony backe, nor requite him any wayes: neuer had hee any thing of me as yet (answered the Gentleman) then neuer let him haue any thing of thee and thou art free; Deceiuer of mankind, said he (speaking to the Deuill) it was thy bargaine, neuer to meddle with him so long as hee was indebted to any, now how canst thou demand of him any thing, when he is indebted for all that hee hath to thee, when hee payeth thee thy money, then take him as thy due; till then thou hast nothing to doe with him: and so I charge thee to be gone. At this, the Deuill vanished with great horror, but Fryer *Bacon* comforted the Gentleman, and sent him home with a quiet conscience, bidding him neuer to pay the Deuils money backe as he tendred his owne safety: which he promised for to obserue.

How Fryer Bacon *made a Brasen head to speake, by the which hee would haue walled* England *about with Brasse.*

FRYER *Bacon* reading one day of the many conquests of England, bethought himselfe how hee might keepe it hereafter from the like conquests, and so make himselfe famous hereafter to all posterities. This (after great study) hee found could be no way so well done as one; which was to make a head of Brasse, and if he could make this head to speake (and heare it when it speakes) then might hee be able to wall all England about with Brasse. To this purpose hee got one Fryer *Bungey* to assist him, who was a great Scholler and a Magician, (but not to bee compared to Fryer *Bacon*) these two with great study and paines so framed a head of Brasse, that in the inward parts thereof there was all things like as in a naturall mans head: this being done, they were as farre from perfection of the worke as they were before, for they knew not how to giue those parts that they had made motion, without which it was impossible that it should speake: many bookes they read, but yet could not finde out any hope of what they sought, that at the last they concluded to raise a spirit, and to know of him that which they could not attaine to by their owne studies. To do this they prepared all things ready and went one Euening to a Wood thereby, and after many ceremonies vsed, they spake the words of coniuration, which the Deuill straight obeyed and appeared vnto them, asking what they would? know, said Fryer *Bacon* that wee haue made an artificiall head of Brasse, which we would haue to speake, to the furtherance of which wee haue raised thee, and being raised, wee will here keepe thee, vnlesse thou tell to vs the way and manner how to make this Head to speake. The Deuill told him that he had not that power of himselfe: beginner of lyes (said Fryer *Bacon*) I know that thou dost dissemble, and therefore tell it vs quickly, or else wee will here bind the to remaine during our pleasures. At these threatnings the Deuill consented to doe it, and told them, thet with a cõtinual fume of the six hotest Simples it should haue motion, and in one month space speak, the Time of the moneth or day hee knew not: also hee told them, that if they heard it not before it had done speaking, all their labour should be lost: they being satisfied, licensed the Spirit for to depart.

Then went these two learned Fryers home againe, and prepared the Simples ready, and made the fume, and with continuall watching attended when this Brasen head would speake: thus watched they for three weekes without any rest, so that they were so weary and sleepy, that they could not any longer refraine from rest: then called Fryer *Bacon* his man *Miles*, and told him, that it was not vnknown to him what paines Fryer *Bungy* and himselfe had taken for three weekes space, onely to make, and to heare the Brasen-head speake, which if they did not, then had they lost all their labour, and all England had a great losse thereby: therefore hee intreated *Miles* that he would watch whilst that they slept, and call them if the Head speake. Feare not, good Master (said *Miles*) I will not sleepe, but harken and attend vpon the head, and if it doe chance to speake, I will call you: therefore I pray take you both your rests and let mee alone for watching this head. After Fryer *Bacon* had given him a great charge the second time: Fryer *Bungy* and he went to sleepe, and *Miles*, alone to watch the Brasen head: *Miles*, to keepe him from sleeping, got a Tabor and Pipe, and being merry disposed, sung this Song to a Northren tune.

Of Cam'st thou not from New-Castle.

To couple is a custome,
all things thereto agree:
Why should not I then loue?
since loue to all is free.

But Ile haue one that's pretty,
her cheekes of scarlet die?
For to breed my delight,
when that I ligge her by.

Though vertue be a Dowry,
yet Ile chuse money store:
If my loue proue vntrue,
with that I can get more.

The faire is oft vnconstant,
the blacke is often proud.
Ile chuse a louely browne,
come fidler scrape thy crowd.

Come fidler scrape thy crowd,
for *Peggie* the browne is she,
Must be my Bride, God guide
that *Peggie* and I agree.

With his owne Musicke, and such Songs as these spent he his time, and kept from sleeping at last. After some noyse the Head spake these two words, *Time is.* *Miles* hearing it to speake no more, thought his Master would be angry if hee waked him for that, and therefore he let them both sleepe, and began to mocke the Head in this manner: Thou Brazen-faced Head, hath my Master tooke all this paines about thee, and now dost thou requite him with two words, *Time is:* had hee watched with a Lawyer so long as he hath watched with thee, he would haue giuen him more, and better words then thou hast yet, if thou canst speake no wiser, they shal sleepe till doomes day for me: *Time is:* I know *Time is,* and that you shall heare good man Brazen face.

To the tune of Daintie come thou to me.

Time is for some to plant,
Time is for some to sowe;
Time is for some to graft
The horne as some doe know.

Time is for some to eate,
Time is for some to sleepe,
Time is for some to laugh,
Time is for some to weepe.

Time is for some to sing,
Time is for some to pray,
Time is for some to creepe,
That haue drunke all the day.

Time is to cart a Bawd,
Time is to whip a Whore,
Time is to hang a Theefe,
And time is for much more.

Doe you tell vs Copper-nose, when *Time is,* I hope we Schollers know our Times, when to drinke drunke, when to kisse our Hostes, when to goe on her score, and when to pay it, that time comes seldome. After halfe an houre had passed, the Head did speake againe, two words, which were these: *Time was. Miles* respected these words as little as he did the former, and would not wake them, but still scoffed at the Brasen head, that it had learned no better words, and haue such a Tutor as his Master: and in scorne of it sung this Song.

To the tune of a rich Merchant man.

Time was when thou a Kettle
wert fill'd with better matter:
But Fryer *Bacon* did thee spoyle,
when he thy sides did batter.

Time was when conscience dwelled
with men of occupation:
Time was when Lawyers did not thriue,
so well by mens vexation.

Time was when Kings and Beggers
of one poore stuffe had being:
Time was when office kept no Knaues:
that time it was worth seeing.

Time was a bowle of water,
did giue the face reflection,
Time was when women knew no paint:
which now they call Complexion.

Time was: I know that Brazen-face, without your telling, I know Time was, and I know what things there was when Time was, and if you speake no wiser, no Master shall be waked for mee. Thus *Miles* talked and sung till another halfe houre was gone, then the Brazen-head spake againe these words; *Time is past:* and there with fell downe, and presently followed a terrible noyse, with strange flashes of fire, so that *Miles* was halfe dead with feare: At this noyse the two Fryers awaked, and wondred to see the whole roome so full of smoake, but that being vanished they might perceiue the Brazen-head broken and lying on the ground: at this sight they grieued, and called *Miles* to know how this came. *Miles* halfe dead with feare, said that it fell downe of itselfe, and that with the noyse and fire that followed hee was almost frighted out of his wits: Fryer *Bacon* asked him if hee did not speake? yes (quoth *Miles*) it spake, but to no purpose, Ile haue a Parret speake better in that time that you have been teaching this Brazen head. Out on thee villaine (said Fryer *Bacon*) thou hast vndone vs both, hadst thou but called us when it did speake, all *England* had been walled round about with Brasse, to its glory, and our eternal fames: what were the words it spake: very few (said *Miles*) and those were none of the wisest that I have heard neither: first he said, *Time is.* Hadst thou call'd vs then (said Fryer *Bacon*) we had been made for euer: then (said *Miles*) half an hour after it spake againe and said, *Time was.* And wouldst thou not call us then (said *Bungey?*) Alas (said *Miles*) I thought he would haue told me some long Tale, and then I purposed to haue called you: then half an houre after he cried *Time is past*, and made such a noyse, that hee hath waked you himselfe mee thinkes. At this Fryer *Bacon* was in such a rage, that hee would haue beaten his man, but he was restrained by *Bungey:* but neuerthelesse for his punishment, he with his Art struck him dumbe for one whole months space. Thus that great worke of these learned Fryers was ouerthrown (to their great griefes) by this simple fellow.

How Fryer Bacon *by his art took a Towne, when the King had lyen before it three months, without doing to it any hurt.*

IN those times when Fryer *Bacon* did all his strange trickes, the Kings of *England* had a great part of *France*, which they held a long time, till ciuill warres at home in this Land made them to lose it: it did chance that the King of *England* (for some cause best knowne to himselfe) went into *France* with a great Armie, where after many victories, he did besiege a strong Towne, and lay before it full three moneths, without doing to the Towne any great damage, but rather received the hurt himselfe. This did so vexe the King, that he sought to take it in any way, either by policy or strength: To this intent hee made Proclamation, that whosoeuer could deliuer this Towne into his hand, hee should haue for his paines ten thousand Crownes truely paid. This was proclaimed, but there was none found that would undertake it: At length the newes did come into *England* of this great reward that was promised. Fryer *Bacon* hearing of it, went into *France,* and being admitted to the Kings presence, hee thus spake unto him: Your Maiestie I am sure hath not quite forgot your poore subject *Bacon,* the love that you shewed to mee being last in your presence, hath drawne mee for to leave my Countrey, and my Studies, to doe your Maiestis seruice: I beseech your Grace, to command mee so farre as my poore Art or life may doe you pleasure. The King thanked him for his love, but told him, that hee had now more need of Armes than Art, and wanted braue Souldiers more than learned Schollers. Fryer *Bacon* aswered, Your Grace saith well; but let mee (vnder correction) tell you, that Art oftentimes doth those things that are impossible to Armes, which I will make good in some few examples. I will speak onely of things performed by Art and Nature, wherein shall be nothing Magical: and first by the figuration of Art, there may be made Instruments of Nauigation without men to rowe in them, as great ships, to brooke the Sea, only with one man to steere them, and they shall sayle far more swiftly than if they were full of men: Also Chariots that shall move with an unspeakable force, without any living creature to stirre them. Likewise, an Instrument may be made to fly withall, if one sit in the midst of the Instrument, and doe turne an engine, by which the wings being Artificially composed, may beat ayre after the manner of a flying Bird. By an Instrument of three fingers high, and three fingers broad, a man may rid himself and others from all Imprisonment: yea, such an Instrument may easily be made, whereby a man may violently draw unto him a thousand men, will they, nill they, or any other thing. By Art also an Instrument may bee made, where with men may walke in the bottome of the Sea or Rivers without bodily danger: this *Alexander* the Great vsed (as the Ethnick phylosopher reporteth) to the end he might behold the Secrets of the Seas. But Physicall Figurations are farre more strange: for by that may be framed Perspects and Looking-glasses, that one thing shall appeare to be many, as one man shall appeare to be a whole Army, and one Sunne or Moone shall seem diuers. Also perspects may be so framed, that things farre off shall seem most nigh vnto vs: With one of these did *Iulius Cæsar* from the Sea coasts in *France* marke and obserue the situation of the Castles in *England.* Bodies may also be so framed, that the greatest things shall appeare to be the least, the highest lowest, the most secret to bee the most manifest, and in such like sort the contrary. Thus did *Socrates* perceiue, that the Dragon which did destroy the Citie and Countrey adioyning, with his noisome breath, and contagious influence, did lurke in the dennes between the Mountaines: and thus may all things that are done in Cities or Armies be discovered by the enemies. Againe, in such wise may bodies be framed, that venemous and infectious influences may be brought whither a man will: In this did *Aristotle* instruct *Alexander*; through which instruction the poyson of a Basiliske, being lift vp vpon the wall of a Citie, the poison was convayd into the Citie, to the destruction thereof: Also perspects may be made to deceiue the sight, as to make a man beleeue that hee seeth great store of riches, when that there is not any. But it appertaineth to a higher power of Figuration, that beames should be brought and assembled by diuers flexions and reflexions in any distance that we will, to burne any thing that is opposite vnto it, as it is witnessed by those Perspects or Glasses that burne before and behinde: But the greatest and chiefest of all figurations and things figured, is to describe the heavenly bodies, according to their length and breadth in a corporall figure, wherein they may corporally moue with a daily motion. These things are worth a kingdome to a wise man. These may suffise, my royall Lord, to shew what Art can doe: and these, with many things more, as strange, I am able by Art to performe. Then take no thought for winning this Towne, for by my Art you shall (ere many dayes be past) haue your desire.

The King all this while heard him with admiration: but hearing him now, that hee would vndertake to win the Towne, hee burst out in these speeches: Most learned *Bacon*, doe but what thou hast said, and I will give thee what thou most desirest, either wealth, or honour, choose which thou wilt, and I will be as ready to performe, as I have been to promise.

Your Maiesties love is all that I seeke (said the Fryer, let mee haue that, and I haue honour enough, for wealth, I have content, the wise should seek no more: but to the purpose. Let your Pioniers raise up a mount so high, (or rather higher) than the wall, and then shall you see some probability of that which I haue promised.

This Mount in two days was raised: then Fryer *Bacon* went with the King to the Top of it, and did with a perspect shew to him the Towne, as plainley as if hee had beene in it: at this the King did wonder, but Fryer *Bacon* told him, that he should wonder more, ere next day noone: against which Time, he desired him to have his whole Army in readinesse, for to scale the wall upon a signal given by him, from the Mount. This the King promised to doe, and so returned to his Tent full of Joy, that he should gain this strong Towne. In the morning Fryer *Bacon* went up to the Mount and set his Glasses, and other Instruments up: in the meane time the King ordered his Army, and stood in a readinesse for to give the assaults: when the signal was given, which was the wauing of a flagge: Ere nine of the clocke Fryer *Bacon* had burnt the State-house of the Towne, with other houses only by his Mathematicall Glasses, which made the whole Towne in an vprore, for none did know how it came: whilest that they were quenching of the same Fryer *Bacon* did waue his Flagge: vpon which signall giuen, the King set vpon the Towne, and tooke it with little or no resistance. Thus through the Art of this learned man the King got this strong Towne, which hee could not doe with all his men without Fryer *Bacons* helpe.

How Fryer Bacon *ouer-came the German Coniurer* Vandermast, *and made a Spirit of his owne carry him into Germany.*

THE King of England after hee had taken the Town shewed great mercy to the Inhabitants, giuing some of them their liues freely, and others hee set at liberty for their Gold: the Towne hee kept as his owne, and swore the chiefe

Citizens to be his true Subjects. Presently after the King of France sent an ambassadour to the King of England for to intreat a peace betweene them. This Ambassadour being come to the King, he feasted him (as it is the manner of Princes to doe) and with the best sports as he had then, welcomed him. The Ambassadour seeing the King of England so free in his Loue, desired likewise to giue him some taste of his good liking, and to that intent sent for one of his fellowes (being a Germane, and named *Vandermast*) a famous coniurer, who being come, hee told the King, that since his Grace had been so bountiful in his loue to him, he would shew him (by a servant of his) such wonderfull things that his Grace had neuer seene the like before. The King demaunded of him of what nature those things were that hee would doe: The Ambassadour answered that they were things done by the Art of Magicke. The King hearing of this, sent straight for Fryer *Bacon*, who presently came, and brought Fryer *Bungey* with him.

When the Banquet was done, *Vandermast* did aske the King, if he desired to see the Spirit of any man deceased: and if that hee did, hee would raise him in such manner and fashion as he was in when that hee lived. The King told him, that above all men he desired to see *Pompey* the Great, who could abide no equall. *Vandermast* by his Art raised him, armed in such manner as hee was when he was slaine at the battell of *Pharsalia*; at this they were all highly contented. Fryer *Bacon* presently raised the ghost of *Iulius Cæsar*, who could abide no Superiour, and had slaine this *Pompey* at the Battell of *Pharsalia*: At the sight of him they were all amazed, but the King who sent for *Bacon*; and *Vandermast* said that there was some man of Art in that presence, whom he desired to see. Fryer *Bacon* then shewed himselfe, saying; It was I *Vandermast*, that raised *Cæsar*, partly to giue content to this Royall presence, but chiefely for to conquer thy *Pompey*, as he did once before, at that great Battell of *Pharsalia*, which he now againe shall doe. Then presently began a fight between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, which continued a good space, to the content of all, except *Vandermast*. At last *Pompey* was ouer come and slaine by *Cæsar*: then vanished they both away.

My Lord Ambassadour (said the King) me thinks that my Englishman has put down your German: hath he no better cunning than this? Yes, answered *Vandermast*, your Grace shall see me put downe your Englishman, ere that you goe from hence: and therefore Fryer prepare thy selfe with thy best of Art to withstand me. Alas, said Fryer *Bacon*, it is a little thing will serue to resist thee in this kind. I have here one that is my inferior (shewing him Fryer *Bungey*) try thy Art with him: and if thou doe put him to the worst, then will I deale with thee, and not till then.

Fryer *Bungey* then began to shew his Art: and after some turning and looking in his Booke, he brought up among them the *Hysperian* Tree, which did beare golden Apples: these Apples were kept by a waking Dragon, that lay under the Tree: He hauing done this, bid *Vandermast* finde one that durst gather the fruit. Then *Vandermast* did raise the ghost of *Hercules* in his habit that he wore when that he was liuing, and with his Club on his shoulder: Here is one, said *Vandermast*, that shall gather fruit from this tree: this is *Hercules*, that in his life time gathered of this Fruit, and made the Dragon crouch: and now againe shall hee gather it in spight of all opposition. As *Hercules* was going to plucke the fruit, Fryer *Bacon* held up his wand, at which *Hercules* stayed and seemed fearful. *Vandermast* bid him for to gather of the fruit, or else he would torment him. *Hercules* was more fearfull, and said, I cannot, nor I dare not: for great *Bacon* stands, whose charms are farre more powerfull than thine, I must obey him *Vandermast*. Hereat *Vandermast* curst *Hercules*, and threatned him: But Fryer *Bacon* laughed, and bid not to chafe himself ere that his iourney was ended: for seeing (said he) that *Hercules* will doe nothing at your command, I will have him doe you some service at mine: with that he bid *Hercules* carry him home into Germany. The Diuell obeyed him, and tooke *Vandermast* on his backe, and went away with him in all their sights. Hold Fryer, cried the Ambassadour, I will not loose *Vandermast* for half my Land. Content yourself my Lord, answered Fryer *Bacon*, I have but sent him home to see his wife, and ere long he may returne. The King of England thanked Fryer *Bacon*, and forced some gifts on him for his seruice that he had done for him: for Fryer *Bacon* did so little respect money, that he neuer would take any of the King.

How Fryer Bacon *through his wisdom saued the endangered liues of three Brethren.*

THE Peace being concluded betweene the King of England and the King of France, the King of England came againe into his Country of England, where he was received very joyfully of all his Subiects: But in his absence had happened a discord betweene three Brethren, the like hath not beene often heard. This it was: A rich Gentleman of England dyed, and left behind him three Sonnes. Now for some reason (which was best known to himselfe) he appointed none of them by name to be his heyre, but spake to them all after this manner: You are all my Sonnes, and I love you all as a Father should doe, all alike, not one better than the other: and cause I would alwayes doe rightly so neere as I can, I leave all my Lands and goods to him that loues me best: These were his last words that he spake concerning any worldly affaires.

After he was dead and buried, there arose a great controversie betwixt them, who should inherit their Fathers Goods and Lands, every one pleading for himselfe, how that he loued his Father best. All the cunning Lawyers of the Kingdome could say nothing to the purpose, concerning this case, so that they were inforced to begge of the King a grant for a combat: for they would not share the Lands and Goods among them, but euery one desired all or else nothing. The King seeing no other way to end this controversie, granted a combat: the two eldest being to fight first, and the conquerour to fight with the youngest, and the surviver of them was to haue the Land.

The day being come that was set for these combatants, they all came in armed for the fight. Friar *Bacon* being there present, and seeing such three lustie young men like to perish, and that by their owne flesh and blood, grieued very much, and went to the King desiring his Maiestie that he would stay the fight, and he would finde a meanes without any bloodshed to end the matter: the King was very glad hereof, and caused the Combatants to be brought before him, to whom he said: Gentlemen, to saue the blood of you all, I have found a way, and yet the controuersie shall be ended that is now amongst you: Are you contented to stand to his Judgment that I shall appoint: they all answered, that they were. Then were they bid to returne three days after. In that time Fryer *Bacon* had caused the Body of their deceased Father to be taken out of the ground, and brought to the Court: the Body hee did cause to be bound to a Stake, naked to the middle vpwards and likewise prepared three Bowes and Shafts for the three Brethren: all these kept hee secretly.

The third day being come, came these three Brethren, to whom Fryer *Bacon* in the presence of the King gaue the three Bowes and Shafts, saying, Be not offended at what I have done, there is no other way but this to Judge your cause: See here is the body of your dead Father, shoot at him, for he that cometh nearest to his heart, shall have all the Lands and Goods.

The two eldest prepared themselues, and shot at him, and stucke their Arrowes in his Breast. Then bid they the youngest to shoot: but he refused it, saying, I will rather loose all, then wound that body that I so loued liuing: Had you euer had but halfe that loue (in you) to him that I haue, you would rather haue had your own bodies mangled, than to suffer his lifelesse Corps thus to be vsed; nay, you doe not onely suffer it, but you are the actors of this act of shame: and speaking this, he wept.

Fryer *Bacon* seeing this, did give the Judgement on his side, for he loved his Father best, and therefore had all his Lands and Goods: the other two Brothers went away with shame for what they had done. This deed of Fryer *Bacons* was highly commended of all men: for he did not onely giue true Judgement, but also saued much blood that would haue beene shed, had they beene suffered to haue fought.

How Fryer Bacon *served the Theeues that robbed him, and of the sport that his man* Miles *had with them.*

IT was reported about the Countrey how that the King had given Fryer *Bacon* great store of Treasure. The report of this wealth made three Theeues plot to rob Fryer *Bacons* house, which they put in practise one Euening in this fashion. They knockt at the doore and were let in by *Miles*: No sooner were they in, but they took hold of him, and led him into the house, and finding Fryer *Bacon* there, they told him that they came for some money, which they must and would have ere they departed from thence. He told them, that he was but ill stored with money at that time, and therefore desired them to forbeare him till some other time. They answered him againe, that they knew that hee had enough, and therefore it was but folly to delay them, but straight let them haue it by faire meanes, or else they would vse that extremitie to him that hee would bee loth to suffer. Hee seeing them so resolute, told them that they should haue all that hee had, and gaue to them one hundred pounds a man. Herewith they seemed content, and would have gone their wayes. Nay, said Fryer *Bacon,* I pray Gentlemen at my request tarry a little, and heare some of my mans Musicke: you are byred reasonable well already, I hope in courtesie you will not deny mee so small a request. That will wee not, (said they all.)

Miles thought now to haue some sport with them, which hee had, and therefore plaid lustily on his Tabor and Pipe: so soone as they heard him play (against their wills) they fell a dauncing and that after such a laborious manner, that they quickly wearied themselues (for they had all that while the bagges of money in their hands.) Yet had Fryer *Bacon* not reuenge enough of them, but bid his man *Miles* leave them some larger measure as hee thought fitting, which *Miles* did. *Miles* straight ledde them out of the house into the fields, they followed him, dauncing after a wilde Anticke manner: Then led hee them over a broad dike full of water, and they followed him still, but not so good a way as he went (for he went over the Bridge, but they by reason of their dauncing, could not keepe the Bridge, but fell off, and dauncing through the water) then led hee them through a way where a horse might very well haue beene vp to the belly: they followed him, and were so durtie, as though they had wallowed in the myre like Swine: Sometime gaue hee them rest onely to laugh at them: then were they so sleepie when hee did not play, that they fell to the ground. Then on the sudden would hee play againe, and make them start vp and follow him. Thus kept hee them the better part of the night. At last hee in pittie left playing, and let them rest. They being asleepe on the bare ground he tooke their money from them, and gave them this Song for their farewell, To the tune of, *Oh doe me no harme good man.*

You roaring Boyes, and sturdy Theeues,
  you Pimpes, and Aples squires:
Lament the case of these poor knaues,
  and warme them by your fires.

They snorting lye like Hogs in stie,
  but hardly are so warme:
If all that cheat, such hap should meet,
  to true men 'twere no harme.

They money had, which made them glad,
  their ioy did not indure:
Were all Theeues seru'd as these haue beene,
  I thinke there would bee fewer.

When that they wake, their hearts will ake,
  to thinke vpon their losse;
And though the gallows they escape,
  they goe by weeping crosse.

Your Trulls expect your comming home
with full and heauy purse:
When that they see tis nothing so,
oh how they'le rayle and curse.

For hee that loues to keepe a whore,
must have a giving hand.
Which makes a many knaves be choakt,
for bidding true men stand.

They were scarce any thing the better for this Song, for they slept all the while: so *Miles* left them at their rest; but they had small cause to sleepe so soundly as they did, for they were more wett than ere was Scold with cucking. *Miles* gaue his Master his money againe, and told the story of their merry pilgrimage: he laughed at it, and wisht all men had the like power to serue all such knaues in the like kind. The theeues waking in the morning and missing their money, and seeing themselves in that plight, thought that they had been serued so by some divine power, for robbing a Church-man, and therefore they swore one to the other, neuer to meddle with any Church-man againe.

How Vandermast, *for the disgrace that he had receiued by Fryer* Bacon *sent a Souldier to kill him; and how Fryer* Bacon *escaped killing, and turned the Souldier from an Atheist to be a good Christian.*

FRYER *Bacon* sitting one day in his Study, looked ouer all the dangers that were to happen to him that moneth, there found he, that in the second weeke of the moneth between Sunne rising and setting, there was a great danger to fall on him, which would without great care of preuention take away his life. This danger which he did foresee, was caused by the *Germane* Coniurer *Vandermast,* for he vowed a reuenge for the disgrace that he had received. To execute the same, hee hyred a *Walloon* Souldier, and gaue him one hundred crownes to do the same, fifty beforehand, and fifty when hee had killed him.

Fryer *Bacon,* to saue himselfe from this danger that was like to happen to him would alwayes when that he read, hold a ball of Brasse in his hand, and vnder that ball would hee set a bason of Brasse, that if hee did chance to sleepe in his reading, the fall of the Ball out of his hand into the Bason, might wake him. Being one day in his study in this manner, and asleepe, the *Walloon* Souldier was got in to him, and had drawne his sword to kill him: but as hee was ready for to strike, downe fell the Ball out of Fryer *Bacons* hand, and waked him. Hee seeing the Souldier stand there with a sword drawne, asked him what hee was? and wherefore hee came there in that manner? The Souldier boldly answered him thus: I am a *Walloon,* and a Souldier, and more then this, a villaine: I am come hither, because I was sent; I was sent, because I was hyred: I was hyred, because I durst do it: the thing I should doe, is not done: the thing to be done, is to kill thee: thus haue you heard what I am and why I came. Fryer *Bacon* wondered at this man's resolution; then asked hee of him, who set him on worke to bee a murderer? Hee boldly told him, *Vandermast* the Germane Coniurer: Fryer *Bacon* then asked him what Religion he was of? He answered, Of that which many doe professe, the chief principles of which were these: to goe to an Ale-house, and to a Church with one deuotion, to absteine from euil for want of action, and to doe good against their wills. It is a good profession for a deuil (said Fryer *Bacon.*) Doest thou belieue hell? I believe no such thing, answered the Souldier. Then will I shew thee the contrary, said the Fryer: and presently raised the ghost of *Iulian* the *Apostate,* who came up with his body burning, and so full of wounds, that it almost did affright the Souldier out of his wits. Then *Bacon* did command this spirit to speake, and to shew what hee was, and wherefore hee was thus tormented? Then spake hee to it in this manner: I sometimes was a Roman Emperour: some count greatnesse a happinesse: I had happinesse beyond my Empire, had I kept that, I had beene a happy man: would I had lost my Empire when I lost that. I was a Christian, that was my happiness; but my selfe loue and pride made me to fall from it; for which I now am punished with neuer ceasing torments, which I must still endure: the like which I enioy is now prepared for unbeleeuing wretches like myself, so vanished he away.

All this while the Souldier stood quaking, and sweat as he had felt the torments himselfe; and falling downe on his knees desired Fryer *Bacon* to instruct him in a better course of life, then he had yet gone in. Fryer *Bacon* told him, that he should not want his helpe in any thing, which he performed, instructing him better: then gaue he him money, and sent him to the warres of of the holy land, where he was slain.

How Fryer Bacon *deceiued an old Vsurer.*

NOT farre from Fryer *Bacon,* dwelt an olde man that had great store of money which hee let out to vse, and would neuer doe any good with it to the poore, though Fryer *Bacon* had often put him in minde of it, and wished him to do some good whilest he liued. Fryer *Bacon* seeing this, by his Art made an Iron pot, which seemed full of gold, this being done, he went to this rich Vsurer, and told him, that he had some gold which he had gathered in his time that he had liued; but it being much in quantity, hee feared that if it were knowne, it would be taken from him, because it was vnfitting a man of his coat should haue so much: Now he desired him that hee would let him haue some hundred pounds, which was not the sixth part of his gold, and he should kepe it for him. The Vsurer was glad to heare of this, and told him that he should have it, and that he would keep his Gold as safe as he himself would: Fryer *Bacon* was glad to heare of this, and presently fetcht the pot: at the sight of which the Vsurer laughed, and thought to himself, how all that gold was his owne, for hee had a determination to gull the Fryer, but he gulled himselfe. See here is the gold (said Fryer *Bacon*) now let me haue of you one hundred pounds, and keep you this gold till I pay it backe again. Very willingly (said the Vsurer) and told him one hundred pounds out, which Fryer *Bacon* tooke and deliuered him the note, and so went his way. This mony did Fryer *Bacon* giue to diuers poore schollers, and other people and bid them pray for old *Good-gatherers* soules health (so was this Vsurer call'd) which these poor people did, and would give him thankes and prayers when they met him, which he did wonder at; for he neuer deserved the praires of any man. At last this old *Good-gatherer* went to looke on this pot of gold, but instead of gold he found nothing but earth, at which sight he would haue died, had not his other gold hindred him, which hee was to leave behind him: so gathering vp his spirits, hee went to Fryer *Bacon,* and told him he was abused and cheated; for which he would haue the law of him, vnlesse he made him restitution. Fryer *Bacon* told him, that he had not cheated him, but bin his faithful steward to the poore, which he could not chuse but know, either by their prayers, or their thanks; and as for the law he feared it not, but bid him doe his worst. The old man seeing Fryer *Bacons* resolution, went his way, and said, that hereafter hee would be his owne steward.

How Miles, *Fryer* Bacons *man did coniure for meat, and got meat for himselfe and his Hoast.*

MILES chanced one day vpon some businesse, to goe some six miles from home, and being loth to part with some company that he had, he was be-lated, and could get but halfe way home that night: to saue his purse hee went to ones house that was his Masters acquaintance: but when he came, the good man of the house was not at home, and the woman would not let him have lodging. *Miles* seeing such cold entertainment wished he had not troubled her, but being now there, he was loth to goe any further and therefore with good words he perswaded her for to give him lodging that night. She told him that she would willingly do it, if her husband were at home, but he being now out of towne, it would be to her discredit to lodge any man. You neede not mistrust me, (said *Miles*) for I haue no thought to attempt your chastitie: locke me in any place where there is a bed, and I will not trouble you till to morrow that I rise. She thinking her husband would be angry if she should deny any of his friends so small a request, consented that he should lye there, if that he would be locked vp: *Miles* was contented and presently went to bed, and she locked him into the chamber where he lay.

Long had not he beene a bed, but he heard the doore open; with that he rose and peeped through a chinke of the partition, and saw an old man come in: this man set down his Basket that he had on his arme, and gaue the woman of the house three or four sweet kisses, which made *Miles* his mouth runne with water to see it: Then did hee vndoe his Basket, and pulled out of it a fat Capon ready roasted, and Bread, with a bottle of good olde Sacke: this gaue hee vnto her, saying: Sweetheart, hearing thy Husband was out of towne, I thought good to visite thee, I am not come emptie handed, but haue brought some thing to be merrie withal: lay the clothe sweete Hony, and let vs first to Banquet, and then to bed. She kindly thanked him, and presently did as he bad her: They were not scarce set at the Table, but her husband returning backe, knockt at the doore. The woman hearing this was amazed, and knew not what to doe with her old Lover: but looking on her apron strings, she straight found (as women vse to doo) a trick to put herself free from this feare? for shee put her Louer vnder the bed, the Capon and Bread she put under a Tub, the bottle of Wine shee put behinde the Chest, and then she did open the doore, and with a dissembling kisse welcomed her husband home, asking him the reason why that he returned so quickly. He told her, that hee had forgot the money that he should haue carried with him, but on the morrow betimes hee would be gone. *Miles* saw and heard all this: and hauing a desire to taste of the Capon and the Wine, called to the Goodman. He asked his wife who that was? She told him, an acquaintance of his, that intreated lodging there that night. He bid her open the door, which she did, and let *Miles* out. Hee seeing *Miles* there, bid him welcome, and bade his wife to set them some meate on the table: she told him that there was not any ready, but prayed him to kepe his stomacke till morrow, and then she would prouide them a good breakefast. Since it is so *Miles* (said the goodman) wee must rest contented, and sleepe out our hunger. Nay stay said *Miles*, if that you can eate, I can find you good meat; I am a Scholler, and haue some Art. I would faine see it (said the goodman) You shall quoth *Miles*, and that presently. With that *Miles* pulled forth a booke out of his bosome, and began his Coniuration in this fashion:

From the fearefull Lake below,
From whence Spirits come and goe;
Straightway come one and attend
Fryer *Bacons* man, and friend.

Comes there none yet, quoth *Miles?* then I must vse some other Charme.

Now the Owle is flowne abroad,
For I heare the croaking Toade,
And the Bat that shuns the day,
Through the darke doth make her way.
Now the ghosts of men doe rise,
And with fearful hideous cryes,
Seeke reuengement (from the good)
On their heads that spilt their blood,
Come some Spirit, quicke I say,
Night's the Deuils Holy-day:
Where ere you be, in dennes, or lake,
In the Iuy, Ewe, or Brake:
Quickly come and me attend,
That am *Bacons* man and friend.
But I will haue you take no shape
Of a Beare, a Horse, or Ape:
Nor will I haue you terrible,
And therefore come invisible.

Now is he come, (quoth *Miles*) and therefore tell me what meat you will haue mine Hoast? Any thing *Miles*, (said the Goodeman) what thou wilt. Why then (said *Miles)* what say you to a Capon? I loue it aboue all meat (said the Goodman.) Why then a Capon you shall haue, and that a good one too. *Bemo* my spirit that I have raised to doe mee seruice, I charge thee, seeke and search about the earth, and bring me hither straight the best of Capons ready roasted. Then stood hee still a little, as though he had attended the comming of his spirit, and on the sudden said: It is well done my *Bemo*, hee hath brought me (mine Hoast) a fat Capon from the King of *Tripolis* owne Table, and bread with it. Aye, but where is it *Miles* (said the Hoast) I see neither Spirit nor Capon. Looke under the Tub (quoth *Miles*) and there you shall finde it. He presently did, and brought (to his wiues griefe) the Capon and Bread out. Stay (quoth Miles) we do yet want some drinke that is comfortable and good; I think (mine Hoast) a bottle of Maliga Sacke were not amisse, I will haue it: *Bemo*, haste thee to Maliga, and fetch me from the Governours, a Bottle of his best Sacke. The poore woman thought that hee would haue betrayed her and her louer, and therefore wished that he had beene hanged, when that hee came first into her house. Hee hauing stood a little while, as before, saide: Well done, *Bemo*, looke behinde the great chest (mine Hoast) Hee did so, and brought out the Bottle of Sacke. Now (quoth hee) *Miles* sit downe, and welcome to thine owne Cheere: You may see wife (quoth he) what a man of Art can doe, get a fatte Capon, and a Bottle of good Sacke in a quarter of an houre, and for nothing, which is best of all: Come (good wife) sit downe, and bee merry; for all this is paid for, I thanke *Miles*.

Shee sate, but could not eat a bit for anger, but wished that every bit they did eate might choake them: Her old Louer too that lay vnder the bed all this while, was ready to bepisse himselfe for feare, for hee still looked when that *Miles* would discouer him. When they had eaten and drunke well, the good man desired *Miles* that hee would let him see the Spirit that fetched them this good cheere: *Miles* seemed vnwilling, telling him that it was against the Lawes of Art, to let an illiterate man see a Spirit, but yet, for once hee would let him see it: and told him withall, that hee must open the door, and soundly beat the Spirit: or else hee should bee troubled hereafter with it: and because he should not feare it, hee would put it in the shape of some one of his neighbours. The Good man told him, that hee neede not to doubt his valour, he would beat him soundly, and to that purpose hee took a good Cudgell in his hand, and did stande ready for him. *Miles* then went to the bed side, vnder which the old man lay, and began to coniure him with these words,

Bemo quickly come, appeare,
Like an old man that dwells neere:
Quickly rise, and in his shape,
From this house make thy escape;
Quickly rise, or else I sweare,
Ile put thee in a worser feare.

The old man seeing no remedy, but that hee must needes come forth, put a good face on it, and rose from under the bed: Behold my Spirit (quoth *Miles*) that brought me all that you haue had; Now bee as good as your word and swaddle him soundly. I protest (said the Goodman) your Deuill is as like Goodman *Stumpe* the Tooth-drawer, as a Pomewater is like an Apple: Is it possible that your Spirits can take other mens shapes: Ile teach this to keepe his owne shape; with that hee beat the old man soundly, so that *Miles* was faine to take him off, and put the old man out of doore, so after some laughing, to bed they all went: but the woman could not sleepe for griefe, that her old Louer had had such bad usage for her sake.

How Fryer Bacon *did helpe a young man to his Sweetheart, which Fryer* Bungye *would have married to another; and of the mirth that was at the wedding.*

AN *Oxfordshire* Gentleman had long time loued a faire Mayde, called *Millisant;* this loue of his was as kindly receiued of her, as it was freely giuen of him, so that there wanted nothing to the finishing of their ioyes, but the consent of her Father, who would not grant that she should bee his wife (though formerly he had been a meanes to further the match) by reason there was a Knight that was a suitor to her, and did desire that hee might haue her to his wife: But this Knight could neuer get from her the least token of good will: so surely was her loue fixed vpon the Gentleman. This Knight seeing himselfe thus despised, went to Fryer *Bungye,* and told him his mind, and did promise him a good piece of money if he could get her for him, either by his Art, or Counsell.

Bungye (being couetous) told him, that there was no better way in his mind, than to get her with her Father to go take the ayre in a Coach: and if hee could doe so, he would by his Art so direct the horses, that they should come to an old Chappell, where hee would attend, and there they might secretly be married. The Knight rewarded him for his counsell, and told him, that if it tooke effect, he would be more bountifull unto him, and presently went to her Father, and told him of this. Hee liked well of it, and forced the poore Maid to ride with them. So soone as they were in the Coach, the horses ran presently to the Chappell, where they found Fryer *Bungye* attending for them: At the sight of the Church and the Priest, the poore Maid knew that she was betraid, so that for griefe shee fell in a swound: to see which her Father and the Knight, were very much grieued, and vsed their best skill for her recouery.

In this time, her best Beloued, the Gentleman, did come to her Father's to visit her, but finding her not there! and hearing that she was gone with her Father, and the Knight, he mistrusted some foul play: and in all hast went to Fryer *Bacon,* and desired of him some help to recouer his Loue againe, whom he feared was utterly lost.

Fryer *Bacon* (knowing him for a vertuous Gentleman) pittyed him; and to giue his griefes some release, shewed him a Glasse, wherein any one might see any thing done (within fifty miles space) that they desired: So soone as he looked in the Glasse, hee saw his Loue *Millisant* with her Father, and the Knight, ready to be married by Fryer *Bungye:* At the sight of this hee cryed out that he was vndone, for now should he lose his life in losing of his Loue. Fryer *Bacon* bids him take comfort, for he would preuent the marriage; so taking this Gentleman in his armes, he set himselfe downe in an enchanted Chaire, and suddenly they were carried through the ayre to the Chappell. Just as they came in, Fryer *Bungye* was ioyning their hands to marry them: but Fryer *Bacon* spoyled his speech, for he strucke him dumbe, so that he could not speake a worde. Then raised he a myst in the Chappell, so that neither the Father could see his Daughter, nor the Daughter her Father, nor the Knight either of them. Then tooke he *Millisant* by the hand, and led her to the man she most desired: they both wept for ioy, that they so happily once more had met, and kindly thanked Fryer *Bacon.*

It greatly pleased Fryer *Bacon* to see the passion of these two Louers, and seeing them both contented, he marryed them at the Chappell doore, whilest her Father, the Knight, and Fryer *Bungye* went groping within, and could not find the way out. Now when he had married them, he bid them get lodging at the next Village, and he would send his man with money: (for the Gentleman was not stored, and he had a great way to his house) they did as he bad them. That night hee sent his man *Miles* with money to them; but he kept her Father, the Knight, and Fryer *Bungey* till the next day at noon in the Chappell, ere he released them.

The Gentleman and his new married wife made that night a great Supper for ioy of their marriage, and bid to it most of the Village: They wanted nothing but Musicke, for which they made great moane. This want, Fryer *Bacon* (though he was absent) supplied: For after Supper there came such a Maske, that the like was neuer seene in that Village: For first, there was heard most sweet still Musicke, then wind Musicke: Then came three Apes, and three Monkeys, each of them carrying a Torch: after them, followed sixe Apes and Monkeys more, all dressed in Anticke coats: these last sixe fell a dancing in such an odde manner, that they moued all the beholders to much laughter: so after diuers Antick changes, they did reuerence to the Bridegroome and Bride, and so departed in order as they came in. They all did maruell from whence these should come: but the Bridegroome knew that it was Fryer *Bacons* Art that gaue them this grace to their Wedding. When all was done, to bed they went, and enioyed their wishes. The next day he went home to his owne house with his Bride: and for the cost he had bestowed on them, most part of the Townes-folke brought them on their way.

Miles made one amonst them too; he for his Masters sake was so plyed with Cups, that he in three dayes was scarce sober: for his welcome, at his departure he gaue them this song: To the tune of, *I haue beene a Fiddler, &c.*

And did not you heare of a mirth that befell,
the morrow after a wedding day:
At carrying a Bride at home to dwell,
and away to Twiuer, away, away?

The Quintin was set, and the garlands were made,
'tis a pity old custome should euer decay:
And woe be to him that was horst on a Iade,
for he carried no credit away, away.

We met a consort of Fiddle-de-dees,
we set them a cock-horse, and made them to play,
The winning of Bullen, and Vpsie-frees,
and away to Twiuer away, away.

There was ne'er a Lad in all the Parish,
  that would goe to the Plow that day:
But on his Fore-horse his Wench he carries,
  and away to Twiuer, away, away.

The Butler was quicke, and the Ale he did tap,
  the Maidens did make the chamber full gay:
The Serving-men gaue me a Fudding Cap,
  and I did carye it away, away.

The Smith of the Towne his Liquor so tooke,
  that he was perswaded the ground look'd blue,
And I dare boldly to sweare on a booke,
  such Smiths as he there are but a few.

A Posset was made, and the women did sip,
  and simpering said they could eate no more:
Full many a maid was laid on the lip:
  Ile say no more, but so giue o're.

They kindly thanked *Miles* for his Song, and so sent him home with a Foxe at his Tayle. His Master asked him, Where he had beene so long? He told him at the Wedding. I know it, (said Fryer *Bacon*) that thou hast beene there, and I know also (thou beast) that thou hast been euery day drunke. That is the worst that you can say by me, Master, for still poore men must be drunke, if that they take a cup more than ordinary; but it is not so with the rich. Why how is it with the rich then? I will tell you (said *Miles*) in few words,

Lawyers they are sicke,
And Fryers are ill at ease;
But poore men they are drunke,
And all is one disease.

Well sirrah (said Fryer *Bacon*) let me not heare that you are infected any more with this disease, lest I giue you sowre sawce to your sweet meat. Thus did Fryer *Bacon* helpe these poore Louers, who in short time got the loue of the old man, and liued in great ioy: Fryer *Bungye's* tongue was againe let loose, and all were friends.

How Vandermast *and Fryer* Bungye *met, and how they striued who should excel one another in their Coniurations; and of their deaths.*

VANDERMAST thinking that Fryer *Bacon* had beene dead, came into England, and in Kent met with Fryer *Bungey:* he owing him no good will for Fryer *Bacons* sake, took his horse out of the Stable, and instead of it, left a Spirit like vnto it. Fryer *Bungye* in the morning rose, and mounting this Spirit, (which he thought had beene his Horse) rode on his iourney: but he riding through a water, was left in the midst of it by this Spirit; and being thus wet, hee returned to his Inne. At the Inne doore, *Vandermast* met him, and asked him, if that were swimming time of the year? *Bungye* told him, If that he had been so well horsed as he was, when Fryer *Bacon* sent him into *Germany,* he might have escaped that washing. At this *Vandermast* bit his lip, and said no more, but went in. *Bungye* thought that he would be euen with him, which was in this manner. *Vandermast* loued a Wench well, which was in the house, and sought many times to winne her for gold, loue, or promises. *Bungye* knowing this, did shape a Spirit like this Wench, which he sent to *Vandermast. Vandermast* appointed the Spirit (thinking it had beene the Wench) to come to his Chamber that night, and was very ioyful that he should enioy her now at the last: but his ioy turned into sorrow, and his wanton hopes into a bad nights lodging: for Fryer *Bungye* had by his Art spread such a sheet on his bed, that no sooner was he laid with the Spirit on it, but it was carryed through the ayre, and let fall into a deepe Pond, where *Vandermast* had been drowned, if he had not had the Art of swimming: He got quickly out of the Pond, and shaked himselfe like a rough Water-Spanniel; but being out, he was as much vexed as before, for he could not tell the way home, but was glad to keepe himselfe in heat that night with walking. Next day he comming to his Inne, Fryer *Bungye* asked him how he did like his Wench? he said, So well, that he wished him such another. *Bungye* told him, that his Order did forbid him the vse of any, and therefore he might keepe them for his friends: Thus did they continually vexe each other, both in words, and ill actions. *Vandermast* desiring to do Fryer *Bungey* a mischiefe, did challenge him to the field (not to fight at Sword and Dagger, single Rapier, or case of Poinyards, but at worser weapons farre, it was at that diabolical Art of Magicke) there to shew which of them was most cunning, or had most power ouer the Deuill: *Bungye* accepted of his challenge, and both prouided themselues of things belonging to the Art, and to the field they went.

There they both spred their Circles some hundred foot from one another: and after some other Ceremonies did *Vandermast* begin: Hee by his Charmes did raise vp a fiery Dragon, which did runne about Fryer *Bungyes* Circle, and did scorch him with his heat so that he was almost ready to melt. Fryer *Bungye* tormented *Vandermast* in another Element: for he raised vp the Sea-monster that *Perseus* killed, when he did redeem the faire *Andromeda*. This Sea-monster did run about *Vandermast*, and such flouds of water did he send out of his wide mouth, that *Vandermast* was almost drowned. Then did Fryer *Bungye* raise a Spirit vp like Saint *George*, who fought with the Dragon, and killed it: *Vandermast* (following his example) raysed vp *Perseus*, who fought also with his Sea-monster, and killed it, so were they both released from their danger.

They being not contented with this tryall of their skill, went further in their Coniurations, and raised vp two Spirits, each of them one. *Bungye* charged his Spirit for to assist him with the greatest power hee had, that by it he might be able to ouercome *Vandermast*. The Deuill told him he would, if that he from his left arme would giue him but three drops of blood: but if that he did deny him that, then should *Vandermast* have power ouer him to doe what he would: The like told *Vandermasts* Deuill to him: to this demand of the Spirits, they both agreed, thinking for to ouercome each other; but the Deuill ouerthrew them both.

They hauing giuen the Deuil this bloud, as is before spoken of, they both fell againe to their Coniurations: First, *Bungye* did rayse *Achilles* with his *Greekes,* who marched abont *Vandermast* and threatned him. Then *Vandermast* raised *Hector* with his *Troians,* who defended him from *Achilles* and the *Greekes.* Then began there a great battell between the *Greekes* and *Troians,* which continued a good space: At last *Hector* was slaine, and the *Troians* fled. Then did follow a great tempest, with thundring and lightning, so that the two Coniurers wished that they had been away. But wishes were in vaine: for now the time was come, that the Deuill would be paid for the knowledge that he had lent them, he would not tarry any longer, but then tooke them in the height of their wickednesse, and bereft them of their liues.

When the Tempest was ended, (which did greatly affright the Townes there by) the Townesmen found the bodies of these two men, (*Vandermast* and *Bungey*) breathlesse, and strangely burnt with fire. The one had Christian buriall, because of his Order sake: the other, because he was a stranger. Thus was the end of these two famous Coniurers.

How Miles *would coniure for money, and how he broke his legge for feare.*

MILES one day finding his Masters Study open, stole out of it one of his Coniuring-Bookes: with this Booke would *Miles* needes coniure for some money: (for he saw that his Master had money enough, and he desired the like, which did make him bold to trouble one of his Masters Deuils:) in a private place he thought it best to doe it: therefore he went vp to the top of the house, and there began to reade: Long had he not read, but a Deuill came to him in an vgly shape, and asked him what he would haue? *Miles* being affrighted, could not speake, but stood quaking there like an Aspin leafe: the Deuill seeing him so, (to increase his feare) raised a tempest, and hurled fire about, which made *Miles* leape from off the Leades, and with his fall broke his legge.

Fryer *Bacon* hearing this noyse, ranne forth, and found his man *Miles* on the ground, and the Deuill hurling fire on the house top. First laid he the Deuill againe: Then went he to his man and asked how hee got that broken legge? Hee told him his Deuill did it: for he had frighted him, and made him leape off from the house top. What didst thou there, (said his Master?) I went to coniure, Sir (said *Miles*) for money; but I haue got nothing but a broken legge; and I now must beg for money to cure that, if you be not the more pittifull to me. I haue oftentimes giuen you warning not to meddle with my bookes (said his Master) and yet you will still be doing: take heed, you had best, how you deale with the Deuil againe: for he that had power to breake your legge will breake your necke, if you againe doe meddle with him: for this I doe forgiue you: for your legge breaking hath paid for your sawcinesse: and though I gaue you not a broken head, I will giue you a plaister: and so sent him to the Chirurgions.

How two young Gentlemen that came to Fryer Bacon, *to know how their fathers did, killed one another; and how Fryer* Bacon *for griefe, did, breake his rare Glasse, wherein he could see any thing that was done within fifty miles about him.*

IT is spoken of before now, that Fryer *Bacon* had a Glasse, which was of that excellent nature, that any man might behold any thing that he desired to see within the compasse of fifty miles round about him: With this Glasse he had pleasured diuers kinds of people: for Fathers did oftentimes desire to see (thereby) how their Children did, and Children how their Parents did; one Friend how another did; and one enemy (sometimes) how his Enemy did: so that from far they would come to see this wonderfull Glasse. It happened one day, that there came to him two young Gentlemen, (that were Countrey men, and Neighbors children) for to know of him by his Glasse, how their Fathers did: Hee being no niggard of his cunning, let them see his Glasse, wherein they straight beheld their wishes, which they (through their owne follies) bought at their lives losses, as you shall heare.

The Fathers of these two Gentlemen, (in their Sonnes absence) were become great foes: this hatred betweene them was growne to that height, that wheresoeuer they met, they had not onely wordes, but blowes: Just at that time, as it should seeme, that their Sonnes were looking to see how they were in health, they were met, and had drawne, and were together by the eares. Their Sonnes seeing this, and hauing been alwayes great friends, knew not what to say to one another, but beheld each other with angry lookes: At last, one of their Fathers, as they might perceiue in the Glasse, had a fall, and the other taking aduantage, stood ouer him ready to strike him: The Sonne of him that was downe, could then containe himselfe no longer, but told the other young man, this his Father had receiued wrong. He answered againe, that it was faire. At last there grew such foule words betweene them, and their bloods were so heated, that they presently stabbed one the other with their Daggers, aud so fell downe dead.

Fryer *Bacon* seeing them fall, ranne to them, but it was too late for they were breathlesse ere he came. This made him to grieue exceedingly: he iudging that they had receiued the cause of their deaths by this Glasse, tooke the Glasse in his hand, and vttered words to this effect:

Wretched *Bacon,* wretched in thy knowledge, in thy vnderstanding wretched; for thy Art hath beene the ruine of these two Gentlemen. Had I been busied in those holy things, the which mine order tyes me to, I had not had that time that made this wicked Glasse: Wicked I well may call it, that is the causer of so vile an Act: would it were sensible, then should it feele my wrath; but being as it is, Ile ruin it for ruining of them: and with that he broke his rare and wonderfull Glasse, whose like the whole world had not. In this grief of his, came there newes to him of the deaths of *Vandermast* and Fryer *Bungey*: This did increase his griefe, and made him sorrowfull, that in three days he would not eate any thing but kept his Chamber.

How Fryer Bacon *burnt his books of Magick, and gave himselfe to the study of Diuinity only*; *and how he turned Anchorite.*

IN the time that Fryer *Bacon* kept his Chamber, hee fell into diuers meditations: sometimes into the vanity of Arts and Sciences: then would hee condemne himselfe for studying of those things that were so contrary to his Order and Soules health; and would say, that Magicke made a Man a Deuill: sometimes would hee meditate on Diuinity; then would he cry out vpon himselfe, for neglecting the study of it, and for studying Magick: sometime would he meditate on the shortnesse of mans life, then would he condemne himselfe for spending a time so short, so ill as he had done his: so would he goe from one thing to another and in all condemne his former studies.

And that the world should know how truly he did repent his wicked life, he caused to be made a great fire; and sending for many of his Friends, Schollers, and others, he spake to them after this manner: My good Friends and fellow Students, it is not vnknowne vnto you, how that through my Art I haue attained to that credit, that few men liuing euer had: Of the wonders that I haue done, all England can speak, both King and Commons: I haue unlocked the secret of Art and nature, and let the world see those things, that haue layen hid since the death of *Hermes*, that rare and profound Philosopher: My Studies haue found the secrets of the Starres; the Bookes that I haue made of them, doe serue for Presidents to our greatest Doctors, so excellent hath my Judgment beene therein. I likewise have found out the secrets of Trees, Plants and Stones, with their seuerall vses; yet all this knowledge of mine I esteeme so lightly, that I wish that I were ignorant, and knew nothing: for the knowledge of these things, (as I haue truly found) serueth not to better a man in goodnesse, but onely to make him proud and thinke too well of himselfe. What hath all my knowledge of natures secrets gained me? Onely this, the losse of a better knowledge, the losse of diuine Studies, which makes the immortall part of man (his Soule) blessed. I haue found, that my knowledge has beene a heauy burden, and has kept downe my good thoughts: but I will remoue the cause, which are these Bookes: which I doe purpose here before you all to burne. They all intreated him to spare the Bookes, because in them there were those things that after-ages might receiue great benefit by. He would not hearken vnto them, but threw them all into the fire, and in that flame burnt the greatest learning in the world. Then did he dispose of all his goods; some part he gaue to poor Schollers, and some he gaue to other poore folkes: nothing left he for himselfe: then caused he to be made in the Church-wall a Cell, where he locked himselfe in, and there remained till his death. His time hee spent in Prayer, Meditation, and such Diuine Exercises, and did seeke by all means to perswade men from the study of Magicke. Thus liued he some two yeeres space in that Cell, neuer comming forth: his meat and drink he receiued in at a window, and at that window he did discourse with those that came to him; His graue he digged with his owne nayles, and was laid there when he dyed. Thus was the Life and Death of this famous Fryer, who liued most part of his life a Magician, and dyed a true penitent Sinner, and an Anchorite.

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N° XV.

[THE CONCLUDING NUMBER]

OF THE

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BY SIR EGERTON BRYDGES, K. J.

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N° II.

CONTAINING

THE COLD YEARE.

1614.

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PRINTED FOR R. TRIPHOOK, 37, ST. JAMES'S STREET,
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Nº III.

CONTAINING

THE LIFE AND PRANKES

OF

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LONDON:
PRINTED FOR R. TRIPHOOK, 37, ST. JAMES'S STREET,
BY T. BENSLEY, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.
1814.

The Fourth Number will be published on the 1st of August.

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WARTON. *Hist. Eng. Poetry.* I. 287, 296.

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PIERCE THE PLOUGHMAN'S CREDE.

London: Printed for Lackington, Allen, and Co. Finsbury Square;
and Robert Triphook, St. James's Street.

The following extracts will sufficiently point out its curiosity.

THE first edition of PIERCE the PLOWMAN'S CREDE was "Imprinted at London by Reynold Wolfe, Anno Domini M.D.LIII." and the text of that edition is verbally given in the present one.

In February 1561 the CREDE was added by Owen Rogers at the end of the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN, and there is the authority of Herbert, in manuscript, for supposing there was another edition containing "D. iiij. four sheets, or sixteen leaves. Not said where printed."

As this popular satire attacked the mendicant friars it might be considered an object with all their four orders, against whom its poignancy was levelled, to destroy the larger portion of the copies; and, perhaps, it was by secretion alone that the very few now remaining were preserved. The rarity and value of the CREDE are shewn by the following notices of Hearne, Rawlinson, and Warton; the first of whom always classed it with his manuscripts.

Suum cuique. THO. HEARNE, Feb. 22, 1723-4.

"This Book I purchas'd to day out of Dr. Charlett's study. It formerly belong'd to the learned Mr. William Fulman. Tho' I have two other copies of the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN, of this edition, yet the CREDE OF PIERCE PLOWMAN (upon which I set a great value) is wanting in both. I haue quoted this CREDE both in my ed. of Guil. Neubrig. and in my Glossary to Rob. of Glouc. from a copy lent me by Thomas Rawlinson, Esq."

MS. note on the title page of a copy of the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN, *printed by Owen Rogers,* 1561, *in the Bodleian.*

"A piece" (says Mr. Rawlinson, speaking of the CREDE,) "rare and good, in which the remains of Monastic Antiquity are graphically describ'd. It charms me on that account when er'e I read it."

HEARNE. *MS. Collections,* Vol. lxxxii, page 75

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1814.

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Nº VI.

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ARTHUR HALL, ESQ.

AND

MELCHISEDECH MALLERIE, GENT.

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